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ABSTRACT

A synoptic view of certain changes in adult education in Western Europe over the last twenty years, comments on their socio-cultural significance, and opinions about likely developments in the future are included in this study. Categories of adult education are defined as courses relating to established academic disciplines; courses in practical skills or informative knowledge; courses designed for those who are disadvantaged, sub-cultural or anti-social; courses assisting people in career advancement. Older concepts of adult education have become inadequate or obsolete through the impact of social changes such as television, work patterns, leisure, attitudes toward the disadvantaged, affluence, and protest. Post-war growth has been in the practical or useful skills and subjects, and student participation and group work has supplemented or replaced traditional lectures. In Western Europe an increasing need exists for adult education programs and adult education teachers. (EA)

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today and tomorrow in european adult education

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The Council for Cultural Co-operation was set up by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 1 January 1962 to draw up proposals for the cultural policy of the Council of Europe, to co-ordinate and give effect to the overall cultural programme of the organisation and to allocate the resources of the Cultural Fund. It is assisted by three permanent committees of senior officials: for higher education and research, for general and technical education and for out-of school education. All the member governments of the Council of Europe, together with Finland, Greece, Spain and the Holy See which have acceded to the European Cultural Convention, are represented on these bodies.[1]

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These works are being supplemented by a series of " companion volumes " of a more specialised nature, including catalogues, handbooks, bilbiographies etc., as well as selected reports of meetings and studies on more technical subjects. These publications, to which the present study belongs, are also listed at the end of the volume.

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The Director of Education and of Cultural and Scientific Affairs, Council of Europe, Strasbourg (France).

The opinions expressed in these studies are not to be regarded as reflecting the policy of individual governments or of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.

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[1] For complete list, see back of cover.

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TODAY AND TOMORROW
IN
EUROPEAN ADULT EDUCATION

A study of the present situation
and future developments
by
J. A. SIMPSON

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FOREWORD

A. *Origin of the present study*

The education of adults has been one of the main categories of the work of the Committee for Out-of-School Education and Cultural Development since its inception. This committee is one of three permanent committees of the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe. As a part of its on-going work in adult education the committee recommended the study which is presented here, and it was commissioned in 1970.[1] In writing it the author has had the advice of a group of experts and they have made comments on a provisional draft. This draft was also submitted to the October 1971 meeting of the committee, on which delegates from all member States of the Council for Cultural Co-operation were present.

The author cannot sufficiently express his thanks to members of the working group and the committee for so generously giving their time in suggesting corrections, additions and amendments. It is important, however, in their interest, to stress the fact that neither individual experts nor the committee collectively have endorsed any of the statements or opinions contained in the following study, which was explicitly commissioned as representing the findings and views of an individual observer.

B. *Not a survey, not normative*

In the course of its work for adult education the Committee for Out-of-School Education and Cultural Development has arranged a number of European conferences, and reference to these and their reports will be made in the text because they have had a considerable effect upon actual developments. Generally speaking, however, the European experts who have come together in conference have been concerned to make recommendations of a normative character prescribing the direction which developments *should* take. They have undoubtedly affected the course of events but it would be altogether too optimistic to conclude that one can derive from them a picture of the existing state of affairs. For this reason the committee set up the present study as a means of assessing the actualities of the situation today, the extent to which developments seem to be in harmony with European aspirations, and the likely future of adult education. The following pages are, then, largely concerned with trends that have begun to manifest themselves in the historical world and which affect matters of teaching methods, shifts in the curriculum, alterations in legislation and so forth. Above all they touch upon the ways in which adult education can be brought to a much larger proportion of the public than has hitherto been the case.

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[1] Mr. J.A. Simpson was Chairman of the Committee for Out-of-School Education in 1969.

It will immediately become clear to the reader that this book does not pretend to be an exhaustive survey of, or guide-book to, adult education in all our countries. Some of them are not mentioned at all and there is no division of the study into regional sections. Reference is made to individual countries only in so far as they illustrate a trend that is likely to have an effect in Europe as a whole. There is, indeed, a real need for an accurate guide book on European adult education, but as we shall have occasion to note in a later chapter, much work will have to be done before a suitable framework exists for a comparative study.

C. *Difficulties of European generalisations*

The need for such work raises a difficulty which stands in the way of useful generalisations about the European scene. The definition of adult education has, in recent years, been enlarged to become co-extensive with all post-work education. This new definition has gained wide-spread acceptance and it has been used for the purpose of this book, where adult education is taken to mean all the more formal and progressive and systematic education of adults, in any subject or for any purpose, which takes place after the adults have ended their initial education in schools, colleges or universities, or their apprenticeship and professional training, and which is provided or supported or approved by public education authorities. This, of course, comprises an extremely wide range and variety of courses and learning situations. In fact, it forms such a heterogeneous collection of educational phenomena as to raise some doubt about the claims which are often made for a " fundamental unity " in adult education of all types. One is led to wonder whether this unity can mean much more than the concept of a set of all the situations in which adults are being educated, a concept from which it is difficult to draw conclusions that have political or andragogical utility.

D. *Exclusions from this study*

Our definition, however, is, in the following pages, restricted by the exclusion of a number of elements. It excludes education organised by and for members of armies, navies and air forces; for those in prison, hospitals and mental health establishments; and that provided by the normal work of libraries, museums and art galleries, and by the normal programmes of theatres, opera houses and radio and television. It excludes also the educational contribution made to adults by the press and by publishing houses, a number of which have a distinct educational policy. It excludes the entirely commercial availability of a large number of courses, by classwork or correspondence, in a wide range of career or personal skills and subjects, including, for example, accountancy, car-driving, slimming, company law, sports and games, coaching, engineering and formation dancing. It excludes also that informally educative influence which is conveyed by the social life of clubs, community centres and youth organisations, although it does take account of their contribution as a stimulus to more formal learning. Moreover, it is not to be forgotten that one of the most powerful forms of adult education today consists in the formation of taste, habit and, indeed, ethical standards, by the specialists in publicity and advertisement employed by the manufacturers of consumer goods. Of that we shall take no account in this study. Obviously the exact dimensions of all the types of education which we exclude cannot be reckoned. It is safe to assume, however, that in any of our countries the kinds of adult education with which this study *is* concerned form only the smaller part of the total of educational processes which are taking place among adults.

E. *Typological difficulties*

Even with a field restrictively demarcated in these ways the difficulty of generalisation is still formidable. A satisfactory typology needs to be established before European trends can be classified and quantified in ways that would lead to really firm conclusions. To exemplify the difficulty we mention the following types of course, all of which come within the terms of our definition : courses designed to liquidate analphabetism; courses in existentialist philosophy attended by retired civil servants; courses in new vocational skills for workers displaced from a dwindling industry; courses in pottery for leisured and sophisticated housewives; courses in German literature for teachers in English schools; courses for study groups belonging to a political party; courses preparing for such examinations as *Mittlere Reife* taken from the *Telekolleg*.

This of course is to say nothing of differing national situations vis-à-vis adult education, and the different emphasis given to it in each country. One may quote as example the difference in this respect between Italy (where in the cities, with the exception of the work of the *Società Umanitaria* in Milan, there is no very marked development of adult education except among people who already have high education) and Belgium, where in the towns there operates a vigorous socio-cultural policy which includes adult education. In Italy this type of policy is more active in rural areas. As G. van Enckevort has said in *Strukturen und Probleme der Erwaschsenenbildung in den Niederlanden*:

" The transfer of new ideas from both inside and outside the Netherlands, as for example, the concept of permanent education, is difficult not merely because of our present structure. Our own historical background, our specific terminology, the connection with other realms of work, our political configuration, all demand that we must speak of Dutch adult education in terms of its own problems ."

It is, moreover, well-nigh impossible, without further detailed studies, to establish relativities which would enable us to speak usefully and with conviction about today's position in the staffing of adult education. Mere numbers tell us little, for we may be equating a young animateur, whose educational background contains no more than a few training seminars, with a tutor who, as well as his doctorate, has a university diploma in adult education, or a highly qualified electrician engaged in an industrial re-training programme, or a technically qualified expert in television presentation engaged in a multi-media system.

F. *Information difficulties involved in new definitions*

It must be remembered, too, that the structures of national governmental and administrative organisation nowhere correspond with the broad concept of " post-school education ". There is no single ministry charged with its supervision and finance. It is a new concept which covers education coming at present within the purview of several government departments or several different branches within one department. Each has its own system for collecting and recording information about numbers of students or institutions and the amount of government financial expenditure. To impose on governments a new demand for the extraction and collation of the statistics and information relating to a new overall concept is something which cannot be easily or lightly done.

G. *Overriding unifying factors*

These difficulties have not been mentioned with any self-exculpatory intention, but in order that the reader may make an open-eyed judgment of the validity of the generalisations in the following chapters. Having stressed the variables between our countries, it is only fair to say that they are overridden by major factors of conception, purpose, attitude and method which do, in fact, enable us to speak with some justification of " European adult education ". Whatever the difficulties of our new definition, there is, in most of our countries, a reasonable consensus about what constitutes adult education. At least, if our set of all adult learning situations were broken down into sub-sets, and shown in Euler diagrams, there would be a substantial area of intersection common to all European countries. Whatever the differences between these countries, they are insignificant compared with those encountered in any considerations of adult education on a world basis. If it were necessary or desirable for the coming Unesco Third International Conference on Adult Education to present continental pictures, the easiest task of preparation would probably fall to Europe because of the coincidence of features of adult education in each country. Of course, geographical compactness, well-marked communication patterns and the long tradition of European concordats would also contribute.

H. *Common cultural background to adult education*

Adult education has its roots in the many soils that have yet brought forth a common European culture; these roots include the Hellenic, Roman, Christian, Moslem, Teutonic and Nordic. From these and others there derives a culture marked by the value it places upon compassion, upon social obligation to one's fellow-men, upon a respect for truth and a determination to find and utter it, and upon the full development of individual personality. Naturally, these values have been, and still are, obscured at times by the pressure of events both on individual and national behaviour, but general acclaim for them has endured.

It would be ludicrous, even if this were, which it is not, a history of adult education, to list major features of European cultural history and claim them as the ancestors of adult education today. But it is not derisory to refer to the persistence of an ideal and a practice once manifested in the Lyceum and the Stoa; or, to speak in purely lay terms and without religious commitment, in the great educational dynamic which placed a priest-teacher in every village in Europe; or in those mighty counter-currents which produced thousands of peripatetic teachers and hundreds of thousands of nonconformist study groups and conventicles for the free discussion of truth; or in the great propagandist movements, some of them occult and underground, of the Illumination of the eighteenth century.

I. *Industrialisation and concentration on youth*

More important from today's point of view is the common European experience of industrialisation which, in its post-tertiary stage, is still in progress. This, with its concomitant of urbanisation, was something which came first to Europe. It is Europeans who have had to try, with no guidance from history, to solve the material and human problems it has brought. It is in this sense possible that European experience of adult education may have a guinea-pig value for peoples in other continents.

Industrialisation runs like a thick red line across the history of the education of adults. In previous ages little distinction was made between the education of the young and that of their elders. The spotlight of public attention was not beamed with sentimental or hysterical fervour upon " the child " or " youth ". The ideal envisaged by society as the product of education was not the stripling or damsel brash in the first glow of physical competence but the person matured by the experience of adult life, and capable of reflection and judgment in the light of that experience - someone " nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita ". To whatever extent Rousseau, with the light he threw upon " the bending of the twig ", is to be thanked for the subsequent concentration of public education upon the young, there can be little doubt that it arose mainly because industrialised societies increasingly demanded that people should be socialised and rendered useful by an initial education which would leave an indelible imprint.

J. *New distinction between work and leisure*

In the societies of industrialised Europe education was, more or less, synonymous with the education of the young. The education of adults had to be re-established as a separate, additional thing which might lay some tentative claim to public support. At the same time, it is to be noted that industrialisation brought a new, sharp distinction between work and leisure. In previous ages these had not been distinguished from each other by time or place, by the factory gate, the clock or commuter travel. Nor was there much socio-political consciousness of the different interests and spheres of work and personal life. The artificial distinction between the vocational and non-vocational sides of life or education was not yet drawn. This distinction has been arbitrarily imposed upon education by those who viewed it as a servant of material productivity, and it is only during the last few decades that its artificiality has been noticed, and we have come to discern that, as G. Gozzer has said in *Cultura e Politica*:

" I due tempi - libero o impegnato - non sono diacronici ma sincronici, contemporanei e compresenti, influenzantisi reciprocamente ".

When work and personal life are sharply and artificially contrasted there arises a peculiar framework for the education of adults - a framework which has characteristic effects upon its timing, its location, its curriculum and the motivations which impel people to seek it.

K. *New socio-cultural class divisions*

Before industrialisation most of our countries presented the spectacle of a socio-cultural duality of a kind which, from the point of view of those who experienced it, appears to have been not entirely unsatisfactory. The folk culture and the *Burgertum* co-existed; each was valued by its participants and neither viewed the other with any marked hostility or lack of respect. Each had its own fairly well defined educational ideals, objectives and processes which were almost inseparable from the patterns of daily life and work, and personal growth and development.

Industrialisation and urbanisation rapidly changed this scene. For millions upon millions of people the folk culture became a thing forgotten or never known, or surviving only in minute, picturesque irrelevances. These urbanised millions of *déracinés* could look only to a new type of popular culture which they must create for themselves, crudely and unsatisfactorily at first in the music halls and the gin shops of the cities; or else to the bourgeois culture which flourished and received fresh nourishment from the productivity brought about by new industry. Thus a cultural hierarchy came into being with its desirable apex high above the normal reach of the vast mass of urban workers, and largely the preserve of a " superior " class - now culturally superior as well as functionally. Status could be achieved and measured only by a climb towards the apex of this cultural monolith.

L. *The role of the petit bourgeois*

It became the concern of popular education of adults to help people in their striving to make this climb. Such aspirations towards the summit were understandably most common among the more highly skilled or more successful workers, the superior artisan or the small shopkeeper or minor functionary. This class of person, sometimes identified as petit bourgeois, or lower middle class, has been subjected to great malaise and strain in its hunger for achievement and recognition. No doubt, as a consequence, it has made a great contribution of gifted and dynamic individuals all over Europe who have left an indelible mark on our societies, in politics and the arts and sciences. Very many of them owe their initial impetus to the activities of adult educationists. But apart from these memorable success stories it is worthy of note that the lower middle class and its demand for assistance in conquering the bastions of a superior culture have had a marked influence upon the development of adult education. This influence is insufficiently acknowledged today; and the petit bourgeois himself is too readily underrated by both radical and reactionary. Indeed, the rapid disappearance of this class as a distinctive element in our societies today - along with its music and literature which are facilely decried as " midcult " - may yet be a cause for regret. This is the class which has given our societies their *douaniers* and engine-drivers and police sergeants and lesser clerks and officials; all those upon whose sense of duty and integrity, and acceptance of respectability as the major part of their wages, so much of the security of social life has depended. It was a class deeply imbued with the worth of continued education and that education was imbued with the values of a higher social class. Its needs and demands have profoundly affected the character of adult education. In particular, they attracted the benevolent attention of those in upper walks of life who felt it to be their duty to share their cultural privilege; and in turn the approval and support of governments.

M. *The new scene*

The great technological and social changes of this century, accelerated by the profound effects of two wars that had an impact on every aspect of social life among belligerent and neutral countries alike, have to a large extent blurred the divisions to which we have referred: between vocational and leisure patterns, between bourgeois and popular culture, between different social classes. Something more will be said in this book about recent social changes. It remains the case, however, that our societies still contain some formidable cultural, social and educational gaps and divisions; and the policies and methods of adult education are still concerned with bridging those gaps as a major task.

N. *Lessons for other parts of the world*

Thus there is a great deal which is peculiar, unique and experimental in the experiences which have gone to make European adult education. They can be offered to the rest of the world as lessons, not with any sense of pride or superior wisdom but rather with the rueful hope that some of the mistakes made in Europe may be avoided elsewhere; and, at the same time, with a confidence that the efforts which have been made in the name of adult education in our countries deserve the sympathy and understanding of our fellow-men anywhere.

O. *Some omissions*

Lastly, some words to explain the omissions (the education of women, libraries, museums and art galleries, socio-cultural development) and the comparative neglect of residential adult education. So far as this last is concerned, it has received only cursory treatment here because it does not at present appear to be in the mainstream of development. In a few years time, with the growth of educational leave, the position may be very different.

1. *The education of women*

In one or two countries there are separate policies for " the education of women ". It has not been possible to go into these as they call for considerable reference to national historical background and so far as Western Europe as a whole is concerned, there seems no warrant for isolating the education of women for separate consideration. In saying this one is somewhat uneasily conscious that, from certain points of view, the majority of women are disadvantaged as persons and as workers in most of our countries. One has also been made aware of the movement known as " Women's Liberation " which demands an educational effort to end the state of things in which women are regarded as masculine toys. There is undoubtedly work for adult education here - even more so for initial education in the schools and homes. On the whole, however, it would seem to be the re-education of boys and men that is necessary. But the problem is complex, and one is willing to incur the charge of escapism in leaving it for study by a team composed of both sexes.

2. *Libraries*

Libraries stand in their own right as institutions of adult education. They make available the means of learning in specialised systems for storage, display and retrieval, and they are directly accessible to the adult public. In addition, many of them provide adult education groups with a supply of books to individual classes. The vast work which libraries do for the education of adults is too extensive and technical a topic to be included in a general study. It is moreover itself the subject of work within the framework of the Council for Cultural Co-operation. Under its aegis a symposium is to be held on " The place of Public Libraries in Permanent Education " in Denmark in 1972. This will examine trends in the development of libraries as resource centres for learning - not merely through books but also through discs, tapes, cassettes and facilities for participation by the public in multi-media learning. Where the present study has touched upon libraries it has been where they may provide a locale for other types of adult education in polyvalent centres such as the *Centri di Lettura* in Italy, or where there is some unusual feature such as the Danish Library Act of 1964 which lays a special injunction upon libraries to co-operate with the organisations for adult education.

3. *Museums and art galleries*

Like libraries these constitute an educational element for adults in their own right. It is found not only in visual presentation, which is usually planned with particular educational objectives, but also in the specialised information and lectures, on certain features of the collections or exhibitions, which are given by the musuem or gallery staff.

Writing from impression only, it seems fair to say that neither form of education appeals strongly to the broad mass of our populations. At the same time, it is disappointing that there are so few arrangements for adult education groups to hold their relevant courses in museums and galleries where the collections could play a major part. There are, of course, great security difficulties, or the timing of most courses is outside normal visiting hours, but examples are not wanting where these have been overcome. The initiative, it would seem, will have to come from the galleries and museums. A paper published by the National Institute for Adult Education in the United Kingdom on *Museums in Adult Education* observes:

> " All the best intentions in the world cannot avail very much unless museums themselves are willing to play a constructive educational role. We believe that given increased resources the example already set by leaders of the museum profession would be widely followed. "

Since those words, written some years ago, museums have not notably acquired resources for either educational or custodial staff; and the security situation has been worsened by some bold and dramatic thefts.

4. *Socio-cultural development*

It has been with some reluctance, and greater difficulty, that the author has attempted to exclude from consideration the large-scale movements for socio-cultural development in various countries which envelop adult education as we define it. Some reference to them is made in the chapter on community development. It is too vast a topic to undertake. As Marcel Hicter said in his speech at the Montreal World Conference on Adult Education: " Education permanente et développement culturel sont deux notions globales, deux faces d'un même processus... La culture en effet, c'est la prise de conscience du besoin de s'exprimer et la maîtrise du ou des moyens de cette expression. " It is clear that the achievement of this awareness and this mastery are high aims of adult education. But " animation socio-culturelle " has a wider age-range and applicability than adult education.

P. *Acknowledgements and thanks*

It is not possible in the time available for the completion of this study to make even a simple list of all the sources which have been used - books, articles, reports - let alone to make a properly systematised bibliography. This is the place, however, to express thanks to fellow adult educationists everywhere on whose ideas the author has drawn. It is also the place to thank all those in many countries who have given their time to discuss adult education with him and show him examples of it in practice.

J.A. Simpson
Exeter, November 1971.

1

NEW CONCEPT AND DEFINITION OF ADULT EDUCATION

In this study an attempt will be made to take a synoptic view of certain changes in adult education which have been taking place in Western Europe over the last twenty years; to comment on their socio-cultural significance; and to form some opinion about likely developments in the future. Many of the trends to be discussed are those which have become clear during the last decade, a period during which the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe, through its Committee for Out-of-School Education and Cultural Development, has played an increasing part in collecting and collating information, and in promoting new studies, investigations and developments. This process was first signalised by the publication of *New Trends in Adult Education* and it has been continued, as well as by further publications, by the conferences on separate aspects of adult education at Rüschlikon in Switzerland and Liverpool in the United Kingdom.

To understand the wider significance of the changes which occurred, and to place them in a social and cultural context, it will be necessary to refer in some measure to new social and educational needs which have emerged in our countries, and to the different types of response made to these needs by adult education with varying degrees of emphasis and success. Care has been taken, however, to refrain from an individual or *ex parte* commentary upon socio-political developments in themselves.

A. *New public attitudes*

To underatke a critical conspectus of trends in adult education at the present time may well be particularly appropriate and, possibly, useful. There is scarcely a member country of the Council of Europe which is not now engaged to some degree in a major revision of its educational system, and evidence suggests that, generally speaking, a new factor in this re-thinking is the increasing belief, among politicians, educationists, administrators and responsible members of the public, that the education of adults must be envisaged as more central to total educational provision, and not merely as a minor after-thought designed for special categories of persons such as those who have been unfortunate or those who maintain a dilettante interest in academic and cultural matters. The keynote is sounded in the *Strukturplan* *für das Bildungswesen* published by the *Bildungsrat* of the German Federal Republic in February 1970, which sets the education of adults as an established part of a comprehensive educational system:

" Schule und berufliche Ausbildung werden künftig für immer mehr Menschen nur die erste Phase im Bildungsgang sein. "

In a sense this represents one manifestation of the spread of the concept of permanent education, to which we shall make a fuller reference at a later stage in this paper, and which constitutes a new element in responsible public opinion.

It would, of course, be misguidedly optimistic to overestimate the immediate consequences for adult education, as almost everywhere change in this direction is confronted by an enormous weight of traditional structure and the prescriptive and monopolistic rights of existing institutions. However, in some countries at least, the change in governmental attitude has already resulted in legislative measures and administrative arrangements that are indicative of the trend, although they are not regarded as terminal answers to the questions posed by contemporary society. France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Sweden may be cited as examples, and further reference will be made to these new laws and measures. In other countries investigations and enquiries, publicly instituted or sponsored by highly responsible voluntary agencies, are examining, or have recently examined, those facilities for learning whereby adults may be helped to make the best of themselves and play a fuller part in making the kind of society which corresponds with human aspirations and ideals. Examples of this movement are to be found in the Netherlands, where a most instructive report has been issued, and in the United Kingom where governmental commissions have been set up both for England and Wales, and, separately, for Scotland. The Republic of Ireland has instituted a similar enquiry into adult education. In Norway, too, the Ministry of Education has established a committee to examine problems related to a new law for adult education, and in Finland a similar governmental commission is so engaged.

The whole on-going process of revision has been searching and far-reaching and conceived in comprehensive terms. It is not possible to appraise it solely in terms of the mechanics of some separate entity called " adult education ". It has involved a critical assessment of the whole fabric of society and its likely future development, and of the global provision of education of all kinds. One common feature of this thinking stands out clearly. It is not too much to say that the thought and planning which surrounds education today - all education and not merely adult education - is imbued with the determination to ensure that no individual and no group or section of society shall face life with any disadvantage resulting from the circumstances of birth or upbringing or family environment, or from any handicap of mental or physical disability, or of race or generation. It is in such a setting that provision for the education of adults is coming to be viewed by the public authorities. The legislative and administrative structures for this provision come under scrutiny in the light of their adequacy for the purposes envisaged in this determination to make real the ideal of social equality.

At the same time, during the last ten years, those responsible in government and administration have shown themselves increasingly aware that the education of adults involves a methodology distinct from that which applies in schools and colleges; that there has arisen a body of andragogical knowledge based upon much research into the learning processes of adults, into their motivation and their achievement capacity, which cannot be disregarded, and which calls into question the applicability to grown men and women of methods and circumstances of teaching and learning which were evolved for use in the schools a quarter of a century before the advent of the new educational technology.

History and geography have given different emphases to educational developments in each of our countries, but, as we suggested in the Foreword, these differences are of less significance than similarity in social attitudes, in socio-economic stages of evolution and fundamental cultural unity. The product of such factors underlies the theory and detailed planning for the education and re-education of adults today, and it is, therefore, possible to consider these from the point of view of Western Europe as a whole. It is hoped that doing so may prove useful in so far as the general educational situation is still fluid and much can be achieved by sharing information about common problems and attempted solutions which, beneath their variety, have many similarities in all our societies. While no attempt will be made here to be propagandist or normative it is hoped that this study will make it easier to chart certain paths along which theory and practice appear to be converging towards an adult education which is more effective in serving social purposes that have become basic principles in the life of our countries.

B. *Definition of adult education as used in this study*

This is not the place for controversy, and all definitions of adult education tend to produce controversy of a kind which raises deep metaphysical, social and political issues. It is, however, essential to make clear at the very outset what it is that the term " adult education " as used here is intended to cover. Even this cannot be done without a brief description of the state of affairs generally prevalent in adult education before the onset of the changes still in progress, when the definition which we shall employ would have been unthinkable. In fact this definition is itself, so far as it commands increasingly widespread acceptance today, evidence of these changes.

By adult education we mean the provision which a society consciously makes, either publicly or through approved voluntary organisations, of facilities for learning by anyone, of whatever age, whose initial education in schools, colleges, universities, apprenticeship and initial professional training has been terminated, who wishes to learn any subject whatsoever, for any purpose whatsoever - provided, of course, that the subject does not conflict with the fundamental principles of a democratic society.

Such a definition covers much more than a particular educational approach or mission to certain sections of a population. It means the education of all those who are no longer *in statu pupillari*: an adult, in this sense, may well be below the age traditionally prescribed for adult education in some of our countries. At the same time we distinguish between adult education and youth activities, where the latter do not involve systematic and progressive learning. This, of course, is not to underrate the informally educative influence which such activities may have, but they are excluded from our definition, as are the unstructured influences of community associations, clubs, leisure centres and similar establishments. Where adult education, as we define the term, takes place, someone is consciously learning something and something is being taught by a process which is provided, supported or approved by the public authorities.

A definition of this kind might be challenged not only for its breadth but also for its restriction. In the German presentation of the Dutch "Report on the Function and Future of Adult Education" (*Gesellschaftskritik durch Weiterbildung*) we read:

> " Under adult education we include all the more or less institutionalised forms of animatory activity (*agogische Aktivität*) which are directed to accompany and stimulate processes of change in the individual and society and which are conducted by more or less professional direction. "

From the philosophical, even from the historical, point of view, such an assertion cannot be questioned, and it must be admitted at once that the definition used in this study has been chosen largely on pragmatic grounds. As a distinguished cultural administrator in the Netherlands Government, Mr L.J.P. Coenen, has observed, the interrelatedness of all phases of life, and so of education, is such that separation into categories is artificial; but, nevertheless, for the purposes of any action - and of any study - an " intentional " definition which limits the fields is a prerequisite. The one adopted here has the merit that it corresponds to the conceptualisation and administrative practice that are emerging as new trends in adult education.

C. *Earlier conceptions of adult education*

A comprehensive definition of the kind we use contrasts markedly with the concept of adult education usually accepted in a number of our countries in the era that preceded the second world war. There was, of course, no uniform pattern at that time, any more than today, because of the differing sets of historical circumstances in which adult education originated and developed in each country. In some societies, for example in Sweden, it has long included some aspects of education for vocational progress or academic qualification; or it has been heavily weighted to take account of the needs of young workers. In others it has been largely confined to liberal studies and general education, artistic and recreational pursuits, taken without career incentive by people who were mostly middle-aged. Elsewhere adult education has been closely bound up with nineteenth century social, political or religious movements - for example with aspirations to national independence and security or to fuller social democracy. In other areas its main intentions originally included the ending of pockets of analphabetism or a campaign against sectional underdevelopment. In spite of these differences a number of common tasks for adult education in most countries had led, by the year 1900, to the adoption by its representatives of a fairly common theoretical position in which its role and scope were much more limited than in the definition proposed here.

The type of society in full bloom in industrialised Europe during the early twentieth century had a pyramidal socio-economic class structure which, despite the existence of small minorities of fundamental critics and revolutionists, had the basic assent of the majority of the population. The spontaneous rush everywhere to rally to the defence of these societies in 1914 is some evidence of this. It was taken as almost axiomatic that only a small minority of those born at the base of the social pyramid would have access to education beyond the elementary or lower secondary or vocational levels. Adult education, therefore, occupied an honoured but marginal position as, so to speak, a remedial additive, or lenitive, to the main educational system which was concerned solely with the young and acted as a series of sieves for sifting them into categories suitable for future employment. Adult education served to mitigate the deprivation experienced by those who failed to secure one of the scarce and highly competitive free places or bursaries in post-elementary education which was normally the preserve of those whose families could afford to pay the fees. Adult education gave the ordinary worker, in later life, a chance to share in the non-economic benefits of higher education; it enabled him to share in the appreciation of élite culture and to have some of the intellectual and aesthetic experiences which the more fortunate had learned to enjoy at colleges and universities while young.

For individuals of outstanding ability and pertinacity, particularly younger workers who were prepared to sacrifice such domestic and social pleasures as they could command, adult education could hold out the promise of a back-door entry - narrow, and difficult of access - to university and professional studies leading to qualifications and more remunerative employment and a movement up the slope of the social pyramid.

Moreover - and here was another of the great tasks of adult education - it enabled the worker to play a fuller part, on more equal terms, in industrial and political affairs, and to lead and organise the opinion of his fellow-workers more effectively and responsibly.

Thus, adult education had strong claims, from several points of view, to some support from the State, although in the majority of cases it owed its origin not to the State but to the action of voluntary associations. In so far as one can generalise, it may be said that these associations represented the combination of three forces. First must be noted the humanitarianism and cultural idealism of a number of highly educated and favourably placed people who saw it as their responsibility to share their educational privileges with the less fortunate. Today a fashionable emotive over-simplification of history for political purposes tends to obscure the very real and leading contribution to adult education from this source. Secondly, came the ideological missionarism of various kinds, nationalist, religious and so on, to which reference has already been made. And lastly, the determination of certain individuals and groups among the under-privileged to form associations to find education for themselves. Whatever their particular emphasis, the voluntary associations for adult education had by the turn of the century so impressed governments with the value of their work that some support and financial assistance began to come from the State. This tended to be increased in the late twenties and early thirties of this century, during the period of widespread economic stagnation and depression.

A special word must be said about the Scandinavian countries, which do not fit exactly into the picture drawn in the foregoing paragraphs. In Norway and Denmark the groups of the population for whom a great deal of the work in adult education was originally conceived cannot be described as at the base of the social pyramid, composed as they were of quite prosperous farmers, and adult education grew through attempts to bring them into a full share of political life, intellectually equipped to use it for the good of society as a whole. In Sweden the education of adults was initially the care of voluntary organisations connected with the political parties or churches or with causes such as temperance, whose aim was to raise the level of general education to the point where participation in these movements became wider and more effective. However, although these substantial differences of origin must be noted, increasing industrialisation led to some assimilation of Scandinavian patterns of thought about adult education with those of the central countries. It is noteworthy that in all three countries mentioned the years of the great economic depression brought a large accession in the numbers coming to adult education, largely from the ranks of the needy and the unemployed.

D. *Achievements of adult education as so conceived*

A brief and detached summary like the foregoing can do but scant justice to the dynamism and strength of the movements described - to the affection and loyalty they kindled among their followers, to the fortitude and magnanimity of many of the teachers and workers. Adult education was consecrated in these years by records of heroic achievement on the part of students and tutors. Nor can there be any doubt of its contribution to human dignity during the hardship, humiliations and struggles of the working class in the first three decades of this century. A number of men and women who have made a great political contribution in their countries owe their education to it. Hundreds of thousands of people owed their chance of " getting on " to adult education and were proud of their debt. It is not surprising that those legendary days, from which we are separated by a war in which the older societies found their *Gotterdammerung*, have set up an image of adult education from which, even today, many are reluctant to detach their gaze.

E. *Limitations*

However, in so far as we take this pre-war adult education as the datum-line from which we measure new trends, it is important to note its limitations rather than its achievements. In the first place it was for the most part conceived of as remedial - whether as culturally compensatory, or as offering a second chance of education (*Zweiter Bildungsweg, Rattrapage*) in a competitive system, or the possibilities of fuller and more progressive participation in active citizenship. In this, and in other senses, it was seen not as something for the whole adult population, but rather for certain sections of it - the underdogs, the under-privileged. Nor, on the whole, did anybody think that more than a minority of those at the base of the social pyramid would avail themselves of adult education. It would attract the more thoughtful, the more able - those who in turn would exercise an influence upon their less responsible fellows.

Again, while from the outset some organisations for adult education, in several countries, have had a marked element of student-participation in their government and class-room procedures, generally speaking, adult education was imbued with a certain social and cultural missionarism on the part of tutors and organisers. This had two effects. The curriculum reflected an established conception of higher education; the methods tended to be those in use traditionally at universities. There was, too, a prevalent assumption that tutors gave their services to adult education as an overspill, of a philanthropic nature, from their main work, often as internal university lecturers. While this was decreasingly true in fact, even before the war, this ethos prevailed and militated against the emergence of a fully professionalised service of full-time workers and arrangements for the training of part-time teachers.

Lastly, the greatest volume of work in pre-war adult education was preponderantly composed of liberal, cultural and recreative studies and pursuits which enabled people the better to come to terms with their personal situation in a comparatively static society and in a predictable role. Opportunities in adult education to prepare for personal change by the acquisition of recognised qualifications, by career advancement, by re-training, by learning skills that bring increased earning capacity - such opportunities were on a very restricted scale, insignificant in relation to those provided by the main-stream structures of schools, colleges, universities. In this sense much in adult education lacked relevance to some of the most powerful motives of ordinary people.

Not unnaturally, the response of European populations to an adult education conceived in such a limited way has been small relative to the totals of adult citizens. Accurate statistical information is lacking even for the situation today, let alone a quarter of a century ago, but it is safe to say that rarely, and only in Scandinavian countries, did more than 5 % of the adult population take part in adult education in any one year. And in this five per cent the proportion of those drawn from the sections of the population which adult education so clearly set out to affect was unsatisfactorily small and diminishing.

F. *The immediate post-war decade*

While the enormous socio-economic changes consequent upon the upheaval 1939-45 were taking place, adult education continued for the most part to be provided according to pre-war conceptions, and its irrelevance to the main-stream of life became more and more apparent. It was in danger of becoming something to be pursued by certain types of person, afficionados of adult education, as others are addicted to symphony concerts or skiing and although honoured for its splendid record in the past, it was becoming peripheral to the purview of educational planners, and, in the eyes of public authorities, marginal to the main provision for national education. It is true that in the immediate post-war years there was a burst of enthusiasm for political education and the popularisation of culture which promoted many new courses and established a number of residential centres. But this faded before the need for financial retrenchment and the drive for increased investment in productivity; and adult education became a vulnerable target for those who wished to cut expenditure.

It is worth noting that during that decade began the growth of those elements in the curriculum and student composition of adult education which have made it a commonplace that " adult education has a middle-class image " - to quote one typical comment drawn from the National Adult Education Survey (Interim Report) of the Republic of Ireland.

2

A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF RAPID SOCIAL CHANGE

It is now necessary to refer to some of the general features of social change which have shown clearly that older conceptions of adult education are inadequate and obsolete. It must be remembered that they were evolved for and among people living in societies unaffected by many of the commonplace social forces of today - by television, the welfare State, cybernetics, the supermarket, programmed learning, the affluent consumer society, space travel, nuclear fission and secondary education for all. Even to list those major changes of the last twenty-five years which have a clear bearing upon the educational needs of adults, would be an intolerably lengthy business and would demand a separate study. Here reference is made only to a certain number which have been clearly accepted as sociological phenomena that have major significance from our point of view.

A. *Change in the ideological bases of society*

Most significant, perhaps, of all, the orthodox and explicitly formulated social creed, the expressed purpose and rationale of Western European societies, has moved entirely away from any vestigial transcendentalism, whether political, ethical or cultural and is now frankly populist. With scarcely an exception it may be said that these societies are not based upon the rights and duties arising from a responsibility to maintain and spread a race, a creed or a way of life. They are now dedicated, in set terms, to the proposition that the welfare - largely the material welfare - and development of the broad mass of the people are the central aims of all State action; and that all claims in favour of other purposes or minority interests must be accepted or rejected in so far as they further or hinder the achievement of these central aims. Allied to this is the proposition that productivity is the chief concern of political action; and that, while technological advance has already added enormously to the stock and range of consumer goods and services, investment in education can produce further technical progress to the point where all citizens are guaranteed abundance of the means for a fulfilling life.

Implicit in this new orthodoxy is the egalitarianism already referred to, which is only questioned now by the most adventurous deviationists. It amounts to a steady and increasing pressure for the removal of any individual or sectional disadvantage in opportunities for personal fulfilment. In fact, these pressures, and the socio-economic and fiscal measures in which they have expressed themselves, have taken our societies a great way towards actual equality of status and opportunity. It is a commonplace that the class structure has ceased to be pyramidal and has become egg-shaped, or pear-shaped, with a preponderant middle-class or lower-middle-class, swollen and still increasing by the process known as *embourgeoisement*. Among the diminishing minority below, it is difficult, moreover, to recognise many features of the old pre-war working class. Formerly élite behaviour patterns have been democratised by new techniques - a point vividly illuminated by the somewhat bizarre fact that a government-commissioned report on Highland development, published in the United Kingdom under a socialist administration, recommended a democratisation of facilities for the slaughter of our fellow-creatures, for deer-shooting.

B. *Changes in educational structures*

Systems of public education have everywhere changed to respond to the new climate of public opinion. The quality and curriculum of primary and secondary schools have changed out of recognition. Secondary, further and higher education are now accessible to the young, if not in full measure, at least to a degree which is out of all comparison with the state of affairs thirty years ago, and the circumstances of home and school life are more likely to enable pupils and students to make the most of their abilities. The proportion of young people who, after school, have a period of full-time studentship has vastly increased. Figures taken from the German Ministerial Report on Education for 1970 are significant:

Totals for 1950		
	Grammar school pupils	667 000
	Intermediate	218 000
	University students ..	135 000
Totals for 1967		
	Grammar school pupils	1 194 000
	Intermediate	694 000
	University students ..	346 000

These figures are quoted only as an example of a general trend. It has been the experience in all countries, moreover, that this great increase in the numbers having better and prolonged initial education creates a corresponding increase in the number of those who seek post-work education, either for further qualifications or to build upon the general interests and skills to which they have been introduced in youth.

Developments in teacher training and pedagogical research as well as the full emergence of that body of knowledge and expertise known as " educational technology " have brought increased effectiveness to teaching and learning, and it is generally acknowledged that the educational level of the average school-leaver today is well above that of the earlier period to which we refer, quite apart from the fact that school-leaving usually occurs now one or two years later. Side by side with public education there is today the incalculably wide impact of the educative and para-educative programmes of radio and television, which in turn have stimulated an appetite for cheaply produced books, including a large number expressly produced for the autodidact.

C. *Changes in work patterns*

The idea that for the vast majority of people education should not be confined to initial education but should be renewed from time to time stems primarily from a recognition of accelerating social and technical change as one of the in-built dynamics of our type of society. It is now accepted that little of the vocational, social and personal knowledge and skill which a person has gained from education at any one time can be guaranteed to suffice for more than a limited number of years. Even in matters of values and ethics and morals, few of the " eternal verities " of the present generation of grandparents are of much use to the present generation of parents in advising their children.

More than this, in the post-tertiary stage of industrialisation, characterised by automation and scientific management, marked changes are taking place in the needed proportions of unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled workers, and of technicians and technologists - to say nothing of a major decline in the proportion of those needed for primary production and a great increase in the need for workers in service industries. These changes beget big shifts in the deployment of labour forces and involve redundancy and the need for education for new work. Re-training programmes occupy an increasing place in public educational provision. There is, indeed, some evidence that it is a not uncommon and quite agreeable expectation among many young workers to have a succession of jobs, each different in nature from its predecessor, career advancement being measured by increased income rather than by a steady rise in status in one profession. Such a development would be in line with confirmed experience over the last ten years in the United States. It may account for the increasing interest among business firms in the provision of courses for middle-management.

D. *Leisure changes*

Leisure, in the sense of hours not devoted to main-line breadwinning, has increased even in the last decade. Since 1870 the average

European industrial worker has gained some 1500 hours a year of this kind of leisure, to say nothing of earlier pensioned retirement. These figures, however, give a misleadingly simple picture. Against them must be offset the increasing practices of working overtime and of having a second job (or " moonlighting " as it is called in America) and increased demands on time made by commuter travel as housing is sited further and further from the place of work. There are too increasingly clamorous attractions for the use of leisure time, not least of which is the sheer contemplation of television. Thus " the problem of leisure " which is so often propounded in the European educational press is certainly not the problem of people confronted by many hours of blank time to kill. Rather it derives from a decline in the satisfactions of work itself. While paid work is still eagerly sought because it provides a social focal point, and what Margaret Mead has called " a calendrically regulated framework for eating, drinking, sleeping and love-making " it no longer provides, for the majority of workers, a demand on their own unique powers of strength, skill or creativity. This decline in former work satisfaction has gone hand in hand with a general disappearance of what has been called " the protestant ethic " whereby, in a sense, leisure was regarded as merely the debris of work, a licensed relaxation from purposefulness and from the true nobility of humanity at its best. The great populist movements which won greater leisure for the masses were not very precise or helpful about its usage. Marx thought it would be " the space for human development ", while Engels assumed it would be spent " in general participation in public affairs ". Proudhon prophesied that it would be used " for free composition and popular astronomy ".

In fact, the new leisure has evolved its own patterns. Where it is not consumed by additional gainful employment or mass entertainment it tends to revolve around the home and the family; crude attempts to harness it to the ideals of political activists or cultural idealists tend to break down against strong resistance. As Mole and Muller in their contribution to the Permanent Education series published by the Council for Cultural Co-operation say, all research into contemporary mass behaviour patterns indicates that " la vie privée est valeur primordiale ". It is noticeable however that in the last two decades there has emerged clearly a change in the relative values of work and leisure. It is around the latter that status and a sense of achievement are increasingly sought, rather than in work, which, for the vast majority of people, is simply the unavoidable infrastructure of leisure, not an area of self-expression or achievement or moral duty. The significance of this change for adult education will be referred to more than once in subsequent sections of this study. For the present it is enough to note that in the United States commercial interests are placing " leisure counsellors " at strategic sites - stores, railway depots, public kiosks - ready to advise on anything from roulette to sub-aqua pursuits. Their concern is, of course, to sell commodities, but their example may be of interest to adult educationists.

E. *Demographic changes*

It is not uncommon in our countries to find that population trends revealed by the census since 1945 show substantial relative increases in those age-groups which have most leisure, the under-twenties and the over-sixties; this quite apart from a steady overall increase brought about by rising standards of living and greatly improved public health. These facts must be of considerable significance for those concerned with the education of adults and the needs to be catered for. In the United Kingdom, for example, the proportion of the population aged over sixty has come near to doubling itself since the year 1900. The specific needs of *le troisième âge* - the phrase itself is a neologism of the last decade - have everywhere emerged clearly and are identified as subjects for research. The psycho-physical and socio-economic problems of adaptation to this phase of life call for educational help. It has been established that an increasingly common form of psychosis - gerophobia - exists, which derives from a horror of growing old and a refusal to come to terms with its unavoidable symptoms. In a similar connection it has been noted by psychiatrists that the massive shift to dispersed housing, with its break-up of the " extended " family pattern of life in favour of the isolated " nuclear " family composed only of parents and children, has produced many middle-aged patients who have not been able to digest the fact of death - brought home to them often by the death of one of the grandparents. But medical and anthropological research have established other biological phase points in life beside puberty and, in women, the menopause; each makes its own challenge to education. It has also been noted that the late development or discovery of talents and abilities - long observed among those undergoing initial education - has also considerable incidence among the adult age-groups.

F. *Television*

As mass media, the press, and to a less extent radio, have long been concomitants ofadult education. Television is more recent, is still in a developing stage, and is already so vast and pervasive a phenomenon that assessment of its effect upon personal and social life - and of the educational needs it creates - can still be only provisional. We have a number of partial or controversial insights, some of which denigrate it as escapist and anti-social and so calling for, so to speak, an educational antidote; others, like that of McLuhan, suggest that among other merits it heralds a new age of entry by mankind into the immediacy of visual community, out of the coldness of literate society - a return to *Gemeinschaft* on a world scale, satisfying our hunger for the community and commitment of the lost village by electronic means. As such, of course, education should be built round television, not against it. A more professional comment from an adult educationist, an article in the Austrian journal *Neue Volksbildung*, some years ago sounded a less enthusiastic note and warned that television had emptied much family life of any true content and, so far as " commitment " was concerned, had had a contrary effect, making, by its *Verzwergungseffekt*, for the easy and complacent digestion of all the world's horrors and injustices in easily assimilated little pictures.

Without embarking upon any of this controversy it is possible to say that, for good or ill, television is the dominant medium today whereby adults acquire information, and that adult education must start from this fact. It is also true - again for good or ill - that television provides the materials of a common culture - common to all walks of life in our societies, so that duke and barber, managing director and janitor discuss the same programmes - a condition of things that is rare in European history and was perhaps foreshadowed only when the plays of Sophocles and Euripides provided a common culture for the citizenry of Athens, or the Bible for Puritan England, or the humanism of the Renaissance for the people of Florence.

It may be more than wry humour to observe that professional workers in adult education are usually prevented from much acquaintance with this common television culture by the timing of their work.

G. *Problems arising from change* : " *the disadvantaged* "

There are of course negative aspects of many of the changes which are called " progress " by the uncritical. These negative aspects constitute in their own right new elements in contemporary society which are relevant to the consideration of educational needs today. Outstanding among them is the fact that the processes of equalisation of opportunity, of the diffusion of affluence and of embourgeoisement have left many enclaves untouched by these new advantages and thus in a state of deprivation. Entrance to higher education is still, for the most part, competitive and tends to favour those whose individual capabilities have shown themselves in examination by the ages of 15 or 16 or 18. Research projects have demonstrated clearly, in several countries, that there is a measurable advantage in the rate of examinable educational development for children who come from " better " homes or who have been educated at " better " schools (better premises, better staff, urban rather than rural). The educational psychologists assure us, in any case, that a substantial number of persons are so constructed biologically that they attain much later than others to the ability - often of a high order when it comes - for academic or creative work or social work and leadership. Under existing systems they arrive too late at the gates of opportunity for higher education.

In most of our countries there are areas and communities both large and small where the culturally deprived and educationally under-privileged tend to congregate and form a high percentage of the local population, forming thus an impoverished ambience which tends to become self-perpetuating, where people are imprisoned by an unseen web of habit, inertia and ignorance. These sub-cultural areas present a special challenge to adult education.

Such conspicuous examples of disadvantage should not, however, divert attention from a less dramatic but far more widespread form of deprivation, so common that it is often accepted without notice and taken as normal, inevitable, " natural ". This is a legacy of the past - the long past during which the vast majority of our populations formed the mute, toiling base of the social pyramid, brutalised by heavy work with primitive machines, with few expectations of self-expression beyond animal satisfactions. In one of its simpler aspects this deprivation manifests itself in what is sometimes called " the generation gap ". Around 45 % of our populations are aged over forty and had their initial education, and for the most part their only education, in days when it was geared to a more hierarchical type of society - when by comparison with today's it was short and restrictive. Figures from Norway are suggestive of the position generally:

Number of years of schooling behind entrants from school to the labour market

1930	7 1/2
1940	8
1950	9
1960	10
1970	11 1/2

In Sweden the Minister's presentation of the Education Bill (1970.35) contains the following passage:

> " Of the gainfully employed persons today more than one half have had only 6 or 7 years of schooling. The disparity in education makes it difficult for older persons to hold their own on the labour market. There is also serious risk of a generation conflict. To reduce the educational gap... society must invest more in the field of adult education ".

Recognition of this particular form of deprivation has been one of the main strands of thought behind the concept of " recurrent education ".

H. *Culture and social class*

A more serious consequence of the legacy from the past referred to above is the persistence into our own epoch of something resembling that former division of our societies into " two nations ", to quote Disraeli's comment on British society in the nineteenth century. By this he meant two types of human being differing in habits, attitudes, forms of expression and speech and behaviour to the point where their common humanity could easily be forgotten. In the vastly larger of these nations there was little scope for the practice or appreciation of literature, serious music, foreign languages and travel, or of the fine arts, nature and landscape, or of the elegance of social intercourse and diversion, or of the pleasures of sustained, informed discussion or study. Not only were such things largely unattainable but they came to be regarded with suspicion as the usages of hostile aliens of the other nation, and attempts at them were viewed as pretentious and almost treacherous. While such attitudes could be formulated by no one today, their general purport, though much softened by time, is still transmitted through the potent influence of family tradition, and is responsible for a seemingly innate aversion from much that is called " culture " - an involuntary rejection of a wide range of valuable experience that restricts the possibilities of personal development for millions of people. In her study of life in a munipical housing estate in a working class area in the north of England, Margaret Lassell (*Wellington Road*) notes that classical music is almost physically painful to this population, and George Orwell has testified to the genuine physical malaise experienced by similar people in the presence of a large collection of books, as in a library.

Such a state of affairs calls for a broad-front cultural emancipation - to complete the legal, political and economic emancipation which has been the achievement of the past century - in which adult education has a major part to play, envisaging real equality for all in the free choice of experience, unrestricted by the handicap of attitudes based on unfamiliarity, suspicion and minimal expectation. It should be added that these observations may not apply with the same force to Scandinavian countries where industrialisation did not constitute such a traumatic social experience and where, in any case, the early rise of adult education did much to prevent a cultural polarity from emerging. How far the problem exists there at all is something which only Scandinavian observers can judge. A foreigner might think to discern a trace of it in the violent protest against élite culture made in the Copenhagen Opera House in October 1971.

I. *The ailments of affluence*

A number of authoritative sociological studies over the past dozen years have identified certain disadvantages which have accompanied processes which cannot but be regarded as progressive. A widespread loneliness and anomie, a deprivation of meaningful personal relationships have been noted as resulting from improved, new but dispersed housing, from the re-siting of industry and the redeployment of labour, and from the social mobility and embourgeoisement that have taken people into unfamiliar and more competitive milieux. In the celebrated study *Family and Kinship*, Young and Willmott have recorded the nostalgia felt by the rehoused for the old slum which gave the comfort and sustenance of the matrilocal extended family and where each street was a real community. Lost in the anonymity of the new low-density housing area they lack contacts through which to impress their personality upon others and must embark upon the less relaxed patterns of bourgeois status-seeking with a serious dislocation of their old-style, carefree budgeting.

But for people everywhere, whether in new or old housing, the enormous enlargement of possible experience brought about by increased purchasing power and a profusion of new goods and services and pastimes and status symbols, has brought a sense of bewilderment and anxiety, often increased by the mendacious clamour of competitive advertisement. Some astringent diagnosticians of our time and its ills speak of the enslavement of the mass of people in the passive consumption of mass-produced goods and entertainments, and of the atrophy of people's ability to use resources of hand, mind and eye that lie within themselves and could liberate them, with educational aid, from dependence on a glittering succession of things to buy as the only answer to human aspirations. Even the greatly increased opportunities for access to culture through television, attractive journals and weekly reviews and newspapers, are said by some reputable critics to mark no true advance, but, rather, a delivery of people into an uncreative " pseudo-culture " - a macédoine of incoherent diversions, snob-interests, quasi-scientific titillations, gossip about Olympian personalities in the world of learning and the arts, and *métalangages* of various kinds.

Ours are, as perhaps never before, introspective societies abounding in the identification of patterns of change by sociologists or public commissions. The presentation of these by the mass media - where they are given all the dramatic urgency by which skilled technicians can create news and entertainment value - contributes to a general sense of disquietude and alarm which is bound, in any case, to be a concomitant of an accelerating rate of social and technical change. At a recent Danish conference on " Future objectives and demand in Adult Education " it was recorded in the report:

> " Our culture pattern accords very high priority to security, and this may explain the all-pervading anxiety and feeling of inadequacy and insecurity resulting from our modern changeable society ".

It cannot but be noted that the adult education group or class has long been an element of reassuring sociability and a factor of stability in the lives of many of its members.

J. *Protest*

A feature specific to the present as contrasted with the pre-war scene may be covered by this word " protest ". It differs from the marches and strikes and riots of earlier times. It is not a working class movement, not a movement at all in the true sense of the word; those most commonly expressing protest have not experienced hardship or poverty, many of them being men and women of considerable educational advantage, often young, but with many less vocal sympathisers of all ages. Protest has no agreed programme and is unconnected with the established political parties. It covers a wide spectrum of opinion, ranging from a determination to destroy the existing social fabric by disruptive, and possibly violent, action, to the wish to exert nuisance value pressure for the rectification or removal of some particular feature of the existing order. Another element of the possible manifestations of protest is an obtrusive and proselytising withdrawal or " drop-out " from conventional values and behaviour patterns and an attempt to assert a " counter-culture ".

However one may regard protest, it is such a notable feature of social life in most of our countries that it must be taken into serious consideration by those concerned with the education of adults. Much evidence suggests that it is merely the visible tip of an extensive iceberg of criticism, of *remise en cause* of the values, morals, and established practices and institutions which are upheld by governments constituted by the majority of our peoples. This critical questioning is, of course, extended to the fundamental mechanism of the affluent consumer society, and to conventional views and assumptions about the nature and purpose of human life. From the adult educationist's point of view it is relevant to note that there is a substantial section of younger adults disposed to question the following propositions, some of which were foundation stones of adult education in former times:

(*a*) that the only sound basis for social or political action lies in study and reasoned discussion of an issue until a democratic majority decision can be made;

(*b*) that there is a known body of information, skill and accomplishment necessary for vocational, social and cultural competence and that public education should be concerned with this;

(*c*) that people are to be esteemed and rewarded in accordance with the progress they make in mastering this knowledge and skill;

(*d*) that this mastery should be measured by examinations;

(*e*) that education involves some measure of authority over the student vested in the teacher or teaching institution;

(*f*) that the chief determining factors in conduct should be a sense of duty and a concern with career advancement.

It would be foolhardy to try to offer a neat interpretation of such a pervasive and polymorph phenomenon as protest, but it is tempting to discern a connection between it and the socio-cultural polarity mentioned earlier. Politically and economically our societies no longer represent a dichotomy between an upper and a lower order, but socioculturally the difference is still apparent. Unless education can bring about a form of integration there is a probability of other solutions - profit-making or ideological - with grave loss of much that is of value both in " bourgeois culture " and what Lukacs has called " the culture of the natural vegetative community ".

K. *The future*

While they must be treated with some reserve, the projections provided by the new science of futurology must be given serious consideration. To some extent they constitute a criticism of present social trends that gives point to certain features of protest. They assure us, for example, that there is already much concealed under-employment in the productive industries, and that once technology is given its head unrestricted by traditional practices, something like one third of the present labour force will produce all that is required for a universal standard of living much higher than the present one. The output of graduate technologists and professional workers is forecast to begin soon to exceed demand in most sectors. At the same time there will be no halt to the rise in numbers of young men and women entering higher education. Thus unless its curriculum is radically revised, increasing numbers of an increasingly educated populace will find little of relevance to their education in their gainful occupation.

A reliable series of projections which are more specifically related to the education of adults is to be found in the OECD Paper STP (70) 17 " Background Study No. 12 ". It forecasts a disappearance of the assumption that education is to be equated with youth and associated with establishments such as schools, colleges and centres. The children of tomorrow will be conditioned to the view that most of their education will come in adult life and will be something to be experienced individually with the potent aid of mechanical apparatus for individual use. A growth in the specialist knowledge related to this type of learning will accelerate the process of transition. The present Swedish tendency to direct the main weight of adult education to bread and butter goals will become general everywhere. The age at which children are regarded as biologically and socially mature will continue to fall. Pluralism of values will intensify to the point of strife, and urban violence will increase.

According to Dr. Mark Abrams of Research Services the informed opinion of experts studying future trends confirms this last depressing prophecy so far as the United Kingdom is concerned. The coming surplus of boys over girls has always been a feature of violent societies. Other features of this country which may have wider incidence concern a drift away from larger urban centres - Lefèbvre has noted this in France. Already in England 40 % of the population live in towns of under 60,000 people or in rural areas. Those left in the great urban centres tend to include a high proportion of the older, less able and poorer sorts of people. It is also noted that there will in the near future in the United Kingdom be a demographic bulge of adults over forty whose children are grown up and off their hands, and who are in search of new outlets for their vigour and emotions. Changes of this nature - though not necessarily in the same direction - have been noted in the Federal Republic, and German adult educationists are considering their impact on the location and timing of courses and on the curriculum to be offered. Similar problems apparently exist in large cities in Italy, to judge from the recent demand of Fiat workers that their work schedules should be revised to enable them to take advantage of cultural leisure opportunities.

L. *Internationalism*

For industrialised Europe this has already become an obvious fact of day-to-day life and its increase seems assured. The educational demands that is it making are not confined to courses in languages, commercial practice and international law for the growing number of people concerned with the working of European political and economic organisations, or with international trade, transport and communications. These needs also declare themselves among the considerable bodies of foreign workers, migrant or domiciled for a longer period, in most great industrial centres. One of the depressing features of these great cities is the congregation each night and weekend of hundreds of these lonely, idle strangers at the railway terminals; if London is excepted it is because the railway stations lack amenities which would make a sojourn tolerable. This problem is likely to be tackled in Denmark where the Directorate for Adult Education is planning a course for teachers who will be trained to deal with programmes for foreign workers. On a happier note one can observe the demand created for education for international contacts by the ever-growing appetite for foreign travel and for foreign contacts and friendships among the mass of ordinary people, particularly among the young, for most of whom identity with their coevals in attitude, musical taste, interests and dress, quite overrides any vestige of national distinction.

M. *Music and sport*

In any list, however sketchy, of new features of the social scene which is a background to adult education, it would be highly imprudent to omit music and sport as factors in the daily life of millions. Thanks to the record, the transistor radio, the multiplication of facilities for concerts, and the cult of identification with certain music-making groups or individuals, music has become more than a concomitant of daily work and activities for the mass of people. Adult educationists have been responsive to the possibilities of this interest, but so far in rather a conservative manner. So far as sport is concerned there is even less cause for satisfaction, and one can only surmise that some remnant of Calvinist austerity or of academicism prevails among practitioners of adult education. Provided with the money for doing so and, increasingly, with better facilities, our populations have turned avidly to sport for their recreation - as active participants in team and individual games and outdoor athletic pursuits, but even more through direct or television spectatorship and through reading, discussion and gambling. In his work on the sociology of sport, Georges Magnane has analysed the basic human drives to which in a regulated industrial society sport offers a satisfaction that is socially approved - impulses towards violence, strife, aesthetic delight in drama and form and colour and creativity, even in the spectator. In gambling many find that compensation, for a society which allots rewards only in proportion to deserts, which the humble crave; and in the spectator assembly that gregariousness which unifies and reinforces, that solidarity of the crowd as compared with the isolation of the audience at other cultural spectacles. Whatever the answer, the phenomenon of sport in our societies poses a question for education.

3

TASKS CONFRONTING ADULT EDUCATION TODAY

A. *Turning need into demand*

One clear inference that can be drawn from the foregoing consideration of some features of the Western European social scene and their likely development in the future is that there exists a vast need for education of many kinds among adults everywhere, and that this need will continue to increase, in intensity no less than volume. Need, however, is a very different thing from demand, and adult education is undertaken voluntarily. The only serious suggestion that it should be made compulsory has been voiced by a minority group of Folk High School workers in Scandinavia, and the suggestion has not been taken seriously by others. Chief then among the problems which confront those who are responsible for developing the provision of and facilities for adult education to meet the needs of our populations, is the problem of converting needs into demands. From Dr. Tietgens, in his contribution to the Permanent Education studies of the Council for Cultural Co-operation, comes the suggestion that hope in this respect must lie in the gradual creation of a public opinion - and the institutions of initial education must play their part in this - which rates participation in adult education as a civic virtue, as a mark of successful and elegant styles of life. At present, except in Scandinavia, far from being a status symbol of effective living, attendance at adult education courses sometimes and in some of its reaches carries the stigma of participation in something designed for the unsucessful, the unfortunate, those who have " missed the boat ", and those who try to compensate for otherwise dreary and empty lives.

There is still much in the circumstances, locale, and timing of provision which conduces to this. In some countries, in parts of the United Kingdom, for example, the makeshift and shoe-string endowment of adult education in respect of premises, equipment and staffing; the need to go through wearisome enrolment procedures and to hope that ten or a dozen other people will also want to learn the subject; these things might easily convey the impression that, far from regarding adult education as meeting the cross-section needs of an affluent society, the responsible authorities view it as something for the poor and needy, to be handed out sparingly to people well used to the delays, uncertainties and humiliations of hospital waiting rooms and Labour Exchange queues. This is obviously not the intention of the authorities, but negligence and failure to adapt to the new circumstances on their part can serve as a deterrent to potential students at a time when one of the prime problems is to stimulate a demand for adult education.

A number of recent developments which will be mentioned later have attempted to solve this problem, but, although their overall numbers have steadily increased in our countries, adult students constitute too small a fraction of the total adult population for anyone to say that the enormous needs are being converted into demands.

B. *Pluralist values and the economic framework*

The tiny demand relative to the vast need is, of course, also connected with the persistence among a number of those who are influential as workers in adult education of a concept which is decreasingly relevant today. It has been described by Dr. Zangerle as " die Weitergabe universitärer Bildungsgüter an die Nicht-Gebildeten " (*Neue Volksbildung*, October 1970). Taking university culture to those beyond the walls is certainly not an obsolete practice, but to make it the only formula for adult education today certainly is. Indeed it would be difficult for any single formula to be applicable to the great variety of the needs. Foremost among these comes the need for the " bread and butter " type of education which is concerned with vocation. There is little difficulty about converting this into demand. There is already a fairly vocal demand for greater opportunities for an adult education which will promote career advancement, increase salary and wage earning capacity and lead to qualifications that open the road to a " better " way of life. And, at the same time, there is the demand of business firms and governments for greater educational provision for adults, of a kind that will increase productivity and make for productive industrial relations. There is a sense in which this set of values may well clash with the university extra-mural tradition. In the same way one can discern a dichotomy between responses to a need for education to adjust to modern society, and to a need for education to resist its pressures and alter it.

Such a dichotomy should not surprise us. Our societies are pluralist in values, and educational provision is bound to reflect this fact. What is more problematical is the apportionment of resources for adult education, whether from public or private purses, to the various categories of educational need. What shall be the priorities: education for productivity and increased earning? education for cultural emancipation? education for social criticism? and there are other claimants. One of the desiderata noted by the *Gesamtplan für Erwachsenenbildung* published recently with official endorsement in Baden-Würtemberg is adult education which makes for understanding and co-operation by ordinary people in the mechanisms of economic growth, a readiness to accept change and discipline in the face of temporary dislocation. Similarly, the OECD document " Manpower policy in the United Kingdom " speaks of the massive education of public opinion that is necessary in countries which aim, at one and the same time, at full employment and price stability and an equitable income distribution. It is difficult not to be impressed by the cogency of these claims on adult education resources.

At the same time, in his paper " Policy and planning for post-secondary education ", commissioned for the seventh Conference of European Ministers of Education, Professor W. Taylor has stressed that the aim of these forms of education should not be to create a consensus making for social cohesion, but rather to multiply the means of dialogue in society. This point of view finds an echo in the words of H. Hartung in the *Revue des sciences et des techniques humaines*, October 1970:

> " The May revolt has established that the young want a way of life which cannot be put upon a perforated card, which is not organised in advance as a function of market research. "

And from official sources in France - the Programme for the Chair of Adult Education at the National High School for Applied Agronomy - there is again a statement of the need for dialogue and confrontation as educative processes, and for education to make adults " apte à vivre les conflits et à les assumer ".

It would be unrealistic to deny the strength of the " bread and butter " and social cohesion claims which respond to the wishes of both governments and the solid majority of peoples. Our societies are strongly geared to the dynamics of material productivity. The still remembered past has imbued governments with anxiety about economic fragility and impressed them with the vast needs for investment - including educational investment - in production. A majority of each of our peoples, too, is deeply preoccupied with comparatively recent opportunities to acquire consumer goods. To what extent, then, can such societies be expected to turn a serious measure of attention to socio-cultural, intellectual or, so to speak, psycho-somatic needs which must appear to them as marginal to their main concern.

C. *Eastern Europe*

It is tempting to try and find out how our European brethren *trans velum* have tackled such problems, although information about Eastern Europe is not always readily available or open to first-hand evaluation. In Poland, we learn, largely owing to the employment of radio and television, the participation of the public in adult education has been raised from 38 to 70 % of the defined age-range. The preponderant element in this increase is " bread and butter " vocational learning. In Yugoslavia, since 1952, forty "Workers' Universities " have come into being, run by the workers themselves and covering a curriculum that deals with the major features and problems of productivity and life - forms of learning which, it is stated, are necessary for all citizens, who must accept responsibility for political government and economic productivity. There are 300,000 students. According to an account of adult education in the Eastern European socialist States contained in *Experimente und Verënderungen* edited by Dolf and Weinberg, adult education is no longer regarded there as marginal, but is taken as including all learning of any kind undertaken by adults - a field which has been systematised by educationists so that there applies to it a unified body of andragogical principle. It is not clear however, what are the relative degrees of educational effort put into productivity and, say, cultural development or social criticism.

D. *Effects of initial education*

Investigations into the slow growth of popular response to adult education have, over the past fifteen years, brought out the fact that this response diminishes sharply among those who have had only the minimum of initial education prescribed by law and who are usually to be found among unskilled or semi-skilled workers in later life. There is a remarkable unanimity of conclusion between the surveys of student characteristics, and it is clear that people are, in this sense, attracted to adult education in inverse ratio to their need for it. One example is symptomatic of many. It comes from the extra-mural department of the University of London.

Occupational groups of all students	
Professional and managerial	56 %
Clerical	20 %
Skilled workers	5 %
Semi-skilled	1 %

It should be said that the general pattern is not so heavily weighted in favour of the top group, but this sample is fairly representative otherwise. If adult education is to make a really broad impact on our societies it is obvious that it must expand its appeal among the sections of the population which so far have proved most resistant to it. A considerable number of the developments of recent years with which we are concerned consist in attempts to solve this problem ; and much of the research which lies behind them has been devoted to a study of the motivations relevant to people of minimal education in the lower income brackets. It might well be assumed, without further investigation, that one of them would be an opportunity to climb into a higher income bracket. This, however, is only one of many possibilities.

Generally speaking then, the recent and continuing trends in adult education are largely concerned with increasing its outreach to a much wider and more representative proportion of the people; with altering the financial basis and legal framework so that adult education is more centrally situated in national educational systems and has a prestige consistent with the important tasks that lie before it; with making a response to the multiplicity of emerging social and cultural needs; with alterations in the curriculum, particularly to include work which corresponds with the economic needs of students, employers and governments; with the removal of disincentives (high costs to students, inconvenient times, unattractive places and conditions) and the creation of incentives, including better publicity and accessibility; with the evolution of more acceptable teaching and learning methods; and, in connection with most of these, with attempts to harness the accumulated expertise of educational technology and multi-media systems of education.

A question which takes us beyond the scope of this study, but which must and will be touched on again, when we mention that element among workers in adult education which is sometimes referred to as " the new left ", is how far these efforts can expect more than very partial success unless there are radical changes in the structures and ideology of initial education. This is indeed a searching question, and only an interim answer can be given. It seems proper, at least, that before looking into one's neighbour's yard, all that is possible should have been done to improve one's own. It is also safe to say that among the middle and younger age-groups of school teachers, university and college lecturers and administrators of initial education there is a growing sympathy with, and knowledge of, the tasks confronting adult education, and a willingness to co-operate and participate in facing up to them.

4

THE CURRICULUM

A. *Some shifts of emphasis*

The word " curriculum " tends to suggest a fixed pattern of study which is offered by a teaching institution, " take-it-or-leave-it ". This has rarely been the case in adult education, participation in which is entirely voluntary and which has always had to reflect the demands and interests of the students. The exception which must be made is where adult education has been geared to a public examination or preparation for a recognised qualification. Hitherto such work has not formed more than a very minor part of adult education.

In former times the demands and interests of the students tended to centre round a generally agreed conception of learning, scholarship and cultivation and the studies which fitted people for responsible citizenship. In a more critical age and with the intensification of democracy, this conception has been eroded to a great extent. At the same time there have been notable efforts on the part of adult educators to introduce or create subjects which are of real relevance to the life and leisure interests of the public. It is not easy to generalise about a number of different countries. In one of the surveys which he promoted at Annecy, M. Dumazedier found a marked preference for courses in geography. In Vienna, according to the *Haus Rief* " Gespräche für Leiter " of 1968, the predominant interest was in courses leading to examinational qualifications. In Zurich, on the other hand, the chief demand was for courses that offered pleasure in performance and creativity. Nevertheless, the following trends seem to be generally observable.

B. *Political education*

Although they still bulk considerably in curricula there has been a notable decline in the subjects which at one time were held to have a bearing upon public affairs and world issues - such subjects as history, political science or philosophy, civics, international relations, current affairs and political economy or economics treated as a branch of academic learning. One must immediately qualify this statement. These older, classical disciplines have been replaced to a great extent by courses in the human sciences, particularly sociology, while the straightforward omnibus course in economics has tended to give place to the more detailed study of a specific problem, such as " the economics of a wage-claim ". While civics, as such, has diminished, there has been an increase in work that prepares people for civic duties such as magistracy or participation in local government. The decline in political history or social history has, however, only been compensated by an increased interest in local history with, so to speak, a folklore motivation. But even allowing for this hidden persistence of the older disciplines, there seems, at least in some countries, to have been a diminution of response to education bearing on public affairs.

Exceptions, and they are very substantial exceptions, must be made of the Scandinavian countries and of the Federal Republic. In Norway and Denmark, following a great boom in public affairs courses immediately after the war of 1939-45, there came in the mid-fifties a noticeable falling off in favour of subjects like psychology and comparative religion and philosophy. Since the mid-sixties, however, interest revived, although taking the new forms mentioned above in the social sciences or in the " systems approach " to economic problems. In Sweden, organisations like the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions and the Central Organisation of Swedish Workers offer their members courses which increase their insight into current economic and civic problems. In 1968 there were 285 of these courses attended by almost ten thousand persons. An analysis of the curriculum of Swedish adult education today would, so far as lecture courses are concerned, give the highest place to political subjects or those dealing with economic and labour matters; and in the Swedish study circles 60 % of the curriculum deals with civics or law or economics and industrial affairs. It should, however, be said that the largest single interest across all Swedish adult education is in languages.

It comes as no surprise that an exception has to be made in the case of the German Federal Republic. It is a matter of general knowledge and pride among Europeans that no free society in recorded history has devoted such attention and resources to the civic and political education of its citizens, education which is of a kind entirely different from the simple business of training and indoctrination by techniques which have a tradition dating back at least to Sparta. The policy of " Mitbürgerliche politische Bildung " aims at a general education that lays the foundations of free participation and independent criticism. Not only has there been no noticeable decline in public interest in courses within this sector of education, but the era of " contestation " and " demo " has tended to intensify it, particularly among younger adults. The move in German industry towards worker-participation has increased a demand for courses suited to trade unionists and members of political parties. Many of these are arranged around specific and real situations and call for tutors with a new kind of expertise, and new kinds of integrated politico-economic learning. It is reported that the demand for tutors who hold the new qualification of the universities of Berlin and Munich, *Diplom-Politologe*, greatly exceeds supply.

Reference has been made to courses for trade unionists, and it may well be that this is a growing-point in adult education. In Norway both employers and unions contribute in equal measure to a fund which is spent half on education for managers and foremen and half on courses for union representatives and shop-stewards. In the United Kingdom the Workers Educational Association undertakes a very carefully planned programme of trade union education and has every reason to regard the results so far with satisfaction.

C. *Leisure and domestic interests*

The most remarkable post-war growth in adult education has taken place in that wide range of practical or useful skills and subjects which bear upon personal and domestic life. The fact that they are now securely placed as part of adult education is itself a significant advance. Until recently in a number of our countries they were regarded as constituting only a lower order of work, classed as " recreative " or " hobby-courses ", and deemed to be scarcely worthy of the name of adult education. For this reason their educative potential was insufficiently exploited. The great expansion of interest is explicable to some extent in terms of new affluence which opens up possibilities for " bricolage " " do it yourself ", home decoration, the use of new hand power-tools, or of new materials and pigments - foam-rubber, polystyrene, fur-fibre and fibre-glass, polyurethane - the maintenance of the family car or cars, the embellishment of the house. Changes in the social class structure have also contributed, since allied with the subjects suggested above there are many others which are useful in the search for social prestige or advancement into new milieux: courses in deportment, in elegant speech, dress and its fabrication, cuisine of a distinguished kind, and in the skills related to recreations and interests that have been opened to ordinary folk by increased purchasing-power and sophisticated commercial provision and still retain the prestige attached to them when they were exclusive - such things as riding, skiing, yachting and small boat sailing, bridge, the collection of antique porcelain, silver or furniture, the intricacies of the stock market as an amateur interest, knowledge of flora and fauna, local history and folklore.

A stern critic might regard this explosion with some disgust at its features of snobbery, social rat-racing and worship of the golden calf, and contrast it unfavourably with the nobler and grimmer preoccupations of adult education in some of the developing countries. This, however, is to be impatient and unsympathetic with people who are still at the stage of excited exploitation of new-found possibilities.

Whatever the motivation that brings people to a subject, the educator can make it the vehicle of true education. In a dress-making class recently a number of young housewives were heard by a visitor to be discussing what exactly is meant by " smart appearance " in a garment: was it a matter of fundamental suitability, or of costliness or of socially dictated fashion? In the course of time it is predictable that the developing countries also will experience this kind of trend and European experience of how to make the most of it educationally may well be useful to them.

D. *The arts*

In a sense increased interest in literature, the appreciation of music, archaeology, and astronomy may be seen as the intellectual counterpart of the interests referred to above. However, it also represents an increased sensitivity and curiosity to be expected in more leisured and less rigorous conditions of life. Even more marked is an increase in music making, active drama, ballet and eurhythmics and folk dancing, painting, photography and film-making, wood-carving, sculpture and pottery. It may be significant that it is a not uncommon practice in England for doctors to recommend to their neuropathic or psychosomatic patients that they should join a pottery class. It is regrettable that governments in their policies for the arts do not take more account of the work done in adult education, both as a seed-bed of talent and a means of ensuring widespread appreciation of the performances, tours and exhibitions which these policies promote.

E. *Languages*

Expansion in this field was, of course, to be expected from the growth of European economic institutions and commercial intercourse and interdependence. This has been reinforced by the increasing ease and availability of tourist travel and exchange visits. The rapid rise of the study of foreign languages to a high place in the adult education curriculum is also connected with great advances in the techniques for teaching them. It is sufficient to note the spread of " language laboratories ", and the network of Eurocentres originating from Zurich. The pedagogical research undertaken there is paralleled by the French establishment at Marly-le-Roi and similar highly specialised institutes in other countries. At present the whole area of European language-learning is a close concern of the Committee for Out-of-School Education and Cultural Development of the Council of Europe, and a series of preliminary studies has been undertaken to lay the foundations for work towards a system of " credit units " valid in all our countries.

F. *Basic education and parent education*

Leaving aside areas where there is reason for a campaign against analphabetism, and turning to basic general education, one may say that, unless it is included in the syllabus of an examination of career value, it makes little appeal outside countries such as the Scandinavian bloc, where there is a strong tradition that such an education is an intrinsic good, and where there is a more acute consciousness of a generation gap. However, elsewhere, there has been a growing interest shown by the parents of school children, not so much in learning the children's school subjects as in learning about them; something of their nature, their significance and their place in the development of the children. Changes in mathematics and scientific subjects have accelerated this growth.

France may well be regarded as the home of parent education so far as the now celebrated *Ecole des Parents* was founded in 1929. Since 1945 it has spread to Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Germany and countries outside Europe, while its general aim has been duplicated by similar institutions in all countries. This aim, of course, is much wider than assistance to parents in understanding the school work of their children. It is to increase among parents an awareness of their educational responsibility and to equip them with the sociological and psychological knowledge to discharge this responsibility in a world of rapid change. In France the *Ecole des Parents* has a considerable research programme, including research into the dynamics of the family group and school groups, and it assists parents not only by consultations and correspondence, but by lecture courses and seminars and discussion groups.

G. *Science*

The education of the public in the natural sciences has been something which has been attempted in most countries, and the increasing appearance of courses so designed, in leaflets and brochures, is a recent feature of adult education. They come almost everywhere, not in response to public demand, but as something considered by those responsible for the programmes to be essential for the making of competent citizens. In the light of recent developments in scientific knowledge the whole situation of man in the universe, his aims and values, need reorientation. The forces that can be unleashed by applied science give man an immense power to alter his physical environment for good or ill. Without some comprehension of the scope and effects of the use of this power it is scarcely possible for a citizen to make sound political decisions or check the technocratic element of government. The scientific method lies at the centre of the contemporary expert's approach to most problems, even those which are personal and social. For these reasons educationists believe that science should occupy a much larger place than it has done in adult education.

So far no marked degree of success has attended their efforts and a good deal of further research into methodology is needed. Science has long passed beyond the stage when it could be among the gentlemanly accomplishments - the collection of geological specimens or butterflies - or among the subjects of lantern lectures at Mechanics Institutes. Contemporary science is by nature concerned with abstractions - a difficulty for people of little academic experience - and with mathematical concepts which often appear to defy commonsense. It makes little appeal to the emotions. It is difficult to go very far in any one branch of science without mastering a particular set of propositions or a particular mathematical technique which would constitute a *pons asinorum* for the majority of adult students. This is particularly true of physics around which the greatest initial interest can be aroused and which is propably in the forefront of the minds of those who care most about the popularisation of science. Much of contemporary physics is at a " micro " plane and extremely difficult to demonstrate. A heuristic approach is difficult to devise. Attempts have been made with a combination of television teaching and the supervised use of carefully planned kits. Perhaps the only answer lies in the establishment of properly constructed and equipped scientific education centres, despite their cost. Other approaches which have been considered include attempts to motivate adults towards scientific education through creative play, as with the Dienes play materials. Courses which describe some of the methods and conclusions of science and deal with the social and metaphysical purport of the latter have proved more popular, but is is doubtful whether they really achieve the purpose of the educationists. Like most problems this one would probably yield its solution if a really concentrated effort were made. In his study on *The Literature of Science Popularisation* Jean Pradal says that, in the long term, one may be optimistic but: " Most States in Europe have not yet recognised the importance of science popularisation. "

By contrast, as we have already mentioned, there has been a marked expansion in the human sciences: sociology, social anthropology, psychology, and a growing volume of courses dealing with specific human problems and life-phases which can be treated in the light of these sciences, such as problems of courtship and marriage, the education of children, care of the aged or mentally ill, race relationships in a multi-racial society, problems of retirement and old age. There are also courses dealing with the complications of these processes that result from drug addiction, heterodox sexual relations or antisocial or delinquent behaviour.

H. *Examinational and vocational work; community development*

Two of the most notable developments in the curriculum of adult education are merely listed here because they will have fuller treatment in later chapters. Firstly, there is the pronounced growth in a number of countries, amounting in some to the kind of major increase shown in the statistics of the German *Volkshochschul-Verband*, of courses which, through work towards examinational qualifications, or through vocational education or re-education, are career orientated. (It is of course to be remembered that such courses have a generally educative effect on the student either through their vocational content or through subjects added to them as part of the course.) Secondly, there is the development of types of adult education provision directed at sections of society in circumstances of special need. Increasingly this work has come to be associated with programmes of community development.

5

DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING PREMISES AND LOCATION

A. *Separate premises for adult education?*

There has long been a debate about the part played, as incentive or disincentive, as an aid to study or a handicap to learning, by the type of premises in which courses for adult education are housed. The predominant practice in this respect has varied a good deal from country to country. In some it has been more usual to make use, during the evening hours, of buildings designed for other purposes - mainly schools, but also church and village halls. Elsewhere more stress has been laid upon the desirability of buildings specially constructed solely for adult education purposes. In fact, in most countries both kinds of premises are in use. The controversy has been sharpened during the last quarter of a century by new factors. It has been noted that where premises are available there is a heavy demand for courses in the daytime when the schools are in use ; a demand from housewives, older people and shift workers. The standards of comfort and décor and amenity which ordinary people expect in public meeting places has risen sharply. The type of work undertaken in adult education makes increasing demands upon storage space both for work in progress and for expensive apparatus. The attitude of those responsible for the school work of the schools has not always been co-operative. All this has added weight to the arguments of those who insist that adult education will only be satisfactorily housed in a manner consonant with its dignity if it has buildings of its own which have a sophisticated standard of amenity and educational facilities. It would be tempting to see a solution to this problem in the establishment by governments of an adult education building programme, but even in the Federal Republic and Sweden, Norway and Denmark, where adult education building has made most headway, it is not assumed that the answer lies in this direction, or even that purpose built buildings can be the overall solution.

The difficulty is that the demand for adult education fluctuates a great deal in quantity and subject from year to year. Moreover, in spite of their great increase, day-time students still constitute a minority and the bulk of the work takes place in the evenings and at weekends. Heavy investment in buildings solely for adult education could be extremely wasteful. At the same time it must be admitted that buildings designed and chiefly used for other purposes are often inadequate, and that they often have an ambience that is makeshift and, in the case of schools, unattractive for those adults for whom school is associated with failure. There seems little doubt that the appeal of adult education could be broadened considerably by more comfortable and more attractive premises. Those purpose-built buildings which have been erected act as beacons for adult education and as resource centres for students and tutors in the area; meeting place and focal point and a storehouse for books and costly equipment. It is also to be noted that the kind of education for adults which depends on multi-media systems demands a purpose-built learning centre of a new kind, equipped with individual study carrels and consoles and audio-visual libraries, facilities which are to be found in none of the homes of the students and in few schools.

The difficulty of predicting any overall solution to this set of problems was underlined by the conclusion of the Dortmund Conference on " Buildings for Adult Education " in 1967. It was generally agreed that a great deal of adult education must continue to be housed in borrowed premises, but that there could be a steady amelioration of the situation in three ways: first, by the improvement of these borrowed premises for adult requirements and, when the opportunity occurs, by their being designed with adult use in mind; second, a continued increase in the number of central buildings specially for adult education which could serve as focal points and power-houses for adult education over a wide urban or rural area, and which could house specialist and advanced courses; third, the association of the locale for adult education with other adult interests and activities in multi-purpose buildings for use by the community as a whole. This, in broad terms, is also the conclusion of the Dutch Report, " Function and Future of Adult Education ", which presses strongly for all these improvements and also raises a voice for residential centres. On the whole actual developments have corresponded with these recommendations except in the last particular. In the last decade one can observe that a number of the adult education departments of universities have secured central premises; in the United Kingdom several buildings, such as redundant schools, have been acquired for adult education. The *Volkshochschulen* in the Federal Republic and in Austria have also added to their special premises. On the whole, however, it seems probable that the move for separate accommodation has lost impetus.

B. *The use of schools*

Much more has been done to ensure that proper provision in schools is achieved by adaptations to the existing fabric and the creation of certain academic and social facilities needed by adults. Where new schools are planned the practice is growing, although slowly, of designing an adult wing or base to be included. This is usually not on an ambitious scale, and comprises a multi-purpose class-room, a common room with refreshment facilities, and a small office for the director of adult studies. It is of course assumed that many of the other rooms in the school will be used by adults when available. Experience tends to indicate that there are some limitations to the benefits to be derived. The interests of the day school tend to predominate; headmasters and, perhaps more important, caretakers often allow the proper requirements of the adult users to take a low priority. Much can be done when the governmental authority issues a firm directive that adult interests must be safeguarded, but in some countries they are not yet sufficiently convinced of the importance of adult education.

C. *Adult education in a multi-purpose setting*

This development seems in harmony with present social trends and some striking advances have been made. It can, of course, take many forms, including the association of adult education with the premises of commercial undertakings as in the very successful *Migros Klubschulen* in Switzerland - although it should be added that the *Klubschulen* also have some excellent premises entirely devoted to adult education. In France and the Federal Republic a number of splendidly built and equipped leisure centres (*Maisons de Culture*, Houses of the Open Door etc.) cater for a wide range of youth and adult activities including courses of education. The striking community centre at Hanover combines facilities for adult education with a fine library, excellent restaurants and bars and halls for entertainment and relaxation: an attractive focus of sociability. Along these lines, on a smaller scale, a number of civic centres in the United Kingdom have been planned - Sutton is an example - to contain adult educational activities among their other features.

The development of arts centres has brought another common setting for adult education in conjunction with the pursuit of other activities. These of course range from small, intimate centres to much more expensive and imposing centres such as those at Stockholm, Remscheid and Birmingham. One of the merits of this particular wider setting for adult education is that attractive possibilities exist for people to attend as families, whereas, so often, adult education forces a student to go counter to one of the strongest dynamics of contemporary life. There is, however, a not inconsiderable volume of criticism of arts centres, particularly of the larger ones, that they rapidly become dominated by a middle class ethos which is unacceptable to the broad mass of citizenry. Indeed, some critics would hold that this is an inbuilt feature of the whole conception which envisages the " socialisation " of the people along bourgeois lines. Nonetheless, some extremely effective adult education goes on there, and they offer opportunities for the pursuit of interests which modern fashions have made popular and which stimulate a growing and enduring interest among adults in further education.

A setting with a somewhat different emphasis is to be found where the planning of a centre is done not in the name of education or by an educational agency, but by a municipal council in co-operation with commercial firms as a leisure amenity, where educational possibilities are added almost as an afterthought. In this way the deterrent effects of the very thought of " education " are avoided. In Lancashire, in England, a Family Adventure Centre caters for interests in equitation, ice-skating, sub-aqua activities, foreign holidays and similar pursuits, and contains also a theatre and concert hall. Out of these interests grows a call for educational courses, and the education authorities respond to this. The Billingham Forum in the north of England provides a complex of commercially run restaurants, bars, concert hall, theatre, swimming pool, bowling and so on together with facilities for adult courses. An interesting move comes from the south west of England where a commercial firm, Butlin's Holiday Camps, is itself using its premises during the winter for a programme of adult education and youth interests.

D. *Rural areas*

The needs of sparsely populated areas and of small centres of population have always constituted a problem. These needs are often of special urgency and something more will be said of them in connection with community development. Adult education constitutes one of the facilities which a French cultural expert, Mr. Imbert, has taken into account in his statistical review which shows clearly that, per head of population, these facilities are available in sharply descending order from the great town to the small village. In some rural areas, as in Italy, the local library is also built up as an adult education centre. The new Norwegian law on public libraries insists that they shall provide accommodation for adult education. In the Federal Republic it has been a general policy to avoid impoverishing the social life of small villages by the creation of too many attractions in one central town and to establish community centres on a modest and realistic scale in each hamlet to serve a number of needs: libraries, medical and chiropodist services, deep-freeze facilities, rooms for weddings and festivities and also for adult education. More ambitious are the recent Austrian *Volksbüchereien* where the services of a trained adult educationist are available to lead people from a simple request for books to a deeper and perhaps more literary and more studious interest. As is well known, many years ago the Cambridge Village Colleges were an attempt to revive the cultural life of a particularly run-down rural area by the creation of schools designed and staffed to serve both the adults and children of a number of villages and homes over an area. These colleges are still an active force, but it is to be supposed that there is a new climate for their work created by the multiplication of means of private transport - for the village colleges, originally, there were elaborate public transport arrangements - and the advent of television.

E. *Community Colleges and* Ecoles Ouvertes

A development of the village college which has aroused great interest is that of the community college in England or *Ecole Ouverte* in France and Germany. The German educational *Strukturplan* already quoted proposes the concept of adult education sited in the premises of the *Gesamtschule* which is to be designed and staffed with adult needs in mind. An actual plan in Hamburg places a special tutor on the staff of the school, which is located near a public library and a shopping centre. The basic idea behind these developments is much the same. While some of the other multi-purpose buildings might be criticised for juxtaposing adult education with activities that seem to compete with it, the idea of the community college is to associate a number of formal and informal educational interests, related to the needs of the community as a whole, and controlled in favour of none of them to the exclusion of others. From the outset the building is designed and the staff selected with the totality of these interests in mind, and the government of the centre is in the hands of a body on which all are well represented - school, adults, youth, voluntary organisations and statutory authority. In England, the latest example, at Countesthorpe in Leicestershire, has been built at a cost of, in round figures, £ 1 000 000. As well as class-rooms, studies, laboratories, gymnasia and other specialist rooms for pupils and adult students the buildings also house a design centre, an arts centre, facilities for private study, a library, a youth area and a centre for older school pupils (16 to 18, a sixth form centre). There are three restaurants and a coffee-bar. An even more ambitious variant is under construction in a slum area of Manchester (Cheetham Crumpsall) as a contribution to urban development. It has large-scale outdoor facilities for recreation and the development of sports skills. These include a missile range for golf practice, and ranges for archery and small-bore rifle shooting. Again there is generous provision of refreshment facilities with common rooms and car-park and also a theatre, concert-hall, library and youth wing. Educational premises are designed for both a lower and a senior secondary school and also for adult education. They include a workshop for engineering science, various rooms for arts and crafts, a studio for courses in hairdressing and another for beauty therapy. The premises also provide rooms for clubs, one for the aged and another for the physically handicapped.

F. *Other possibilities*

It must be remembered that whatever architectural or intrinsic merits such buildings have, they must ultimately be judged by the extent to which they have broadened the impact of adult education on a social cross-section basis. An approach towards this on quite different lines is made in Denmark and Sweden by the " living workshop " to which members of the public can come to use tools and machinery for their own purposes, with the advice of an expert who is in attendance. A demand for instruction and education often arises from a desire for efficiency in performance and construction.

In conclusion it seems useful to add the following reflection. It is natural that workers in adult education should be gratified by the creation of fixed premises, and even more heartened when these are provided with a lavish hand and made worthy of the dignity of the task of the educator of adults. In a sense, however, these premises inevitably constitute a form of institutionalisation which may lessen the missionary element in adult education. It may be questioned whether all the cathedrals in the world have been able to add much impetus to a movement initiated by foot-loose teachers who carried their equipment in their sacks.

6

NEW METHODS : NEW APPROACHES

A. *Changing role of teachers*

Apart from efforts to make the curriculum and the accommodation for adult education more appealing there are a number of developments in methodology which may well reinforce its attraction. Some of these have been undertaken for, so to speak, ethical reasons independently of the wish to give adult education a wider impact. Such motives include the wish to make the best of human potential among students and to provide experience in the class-room which is consistent with full human dignity. Already in the schools and colleges there has been considerable movement towards a situation in which the teacher is a far less dominant figure, no longer the fount of all authority and knowledge, the only decisive voice on the curriculum and the method of learning, bringing in such participation as there is from the students as a conductor brings in the sections and instruments of an orchestra.

It is still not often that experiments are made as in Sweden with an entirely self-governing school, administered by a council composed of pupils, teachers and parents, but everywhere there has been some progress in this direction. The school council, or pupil or student representation on governing bodies and academic committees, are increasingly common. Circular 7/70 of the English Department of Education and Science recently recommended the inclusion of student representatives on the governing boards of colleges where there is a substantial proportion of students aged 18. This official attitude seems typical of Western Europe as a whole and marks a swing of opinion in a new direction.

At the same time, for the past twenty years it has been observable that relationships between teachers and pupils have become more friendly, more informal, less authoritarian, less *de haut en bas*. The present generations of adults contain many people who have been brought up to expect such teacher-pupil relationships. The traditions of adult education are somewhat mixed in this respect. On the one hand the element of discussion as between fellow-adults has always been one of its characteristics. Moreover the altruistic motives which brought many tutors to undertake the work also impelled them to humane and kindly intercourse with their students. Such an atmosphere was of course more likely to prevail in courses in the humane disciplines, philosophy, economics, history; less so in work designed to give basic instruction in skills, including the skills of foreign languages, or to overcome illiteracy or other educational handicaps. But in all work with adults a friendly, easy relationship between tutor and student was common. On the other hand this geniality could and often did conceal a very real dirigisme on the part of the tutor. In all adult education, before present developments, there was inevitably a gulf between the teacher and the student, the former appearing as the representative of a culture and a knowledge to which the students aspired - a body of learning and cultivation to which it was not thought by anyone that non-experts had a serious contribution to make.

B. *The lecture*

The classical pattern of class-room procedure was the lecture followed by questions and discussion, at least for academic subjects. In the case of subjects of a practical or instructional nature the centrality of the teacher, his dominant position, was even more marked by his exclusive possession of the particular expertise or information - the " correct " way of doing things or saying things. This has proved to be a strongly persistent tradition in adult education. Its effects are of course most to be noted where the students have least general education, are least capable of verbalisation, are overawed by the teacher's knowledge or come from deprived urban or rural districts. Because human beings do not normally enjoy subordination, this has been one of the deterrents of adult education, and the authoritarian type of decision about curriculum and method has acted in the same way.

Recent developments are marked by a conscious effort to end this situation. The most notable example is the dethronement of the lecture from its sovereign position as the formula for class procedure. A great deal of research has indicated the limitations on people's tolerance for lecture-hearing, and the small proportion of a lecture's content which is actually registered by the hearer, let alone remembered. Lectures have, accordingly, been made shorter, and after 30 to 40 minutes give place to discussion. Alternatively, they are broken up into short periods and interspersed with discussion or group work. In other instances they have been abandoned entirely in favour of group-work or of a dialectical procedure which follows the difficulties and objections of the students closely. Mutatis mutandis, the same is true of demonstration and instruction in practical crafts and skills. In all cases a very great deal is now being done by teachers to establish educationally fruitful relationships with students, involving sincere deference to their views and wishes about precisely what it is they have come to learn and what they want, individually, from the course. It is assumed by the teacher that there is some knowledge and skill among the students which should be pooled during the lesson, used and made available for all.

As a last-minute post script it might be added that from Scandinavian sources come reports of a student reaction against this new role of the teacher, a rebellion against his abdication from the responsibility of being the fount of knowledge, and a vocal dissatisfaction with the " purposeless time-wasting " of seminar work. Those of us who have had experience, both as student and tutor, of lecture method and seminar or other non-lecturing method may be forgiven for thinking that the truth lies somewhere in the middle. It has certainly been amusing to note the fanaticism of anti-lecture enthusiasts and the ingenuity with which they have contrived to associate lecturing with Caesarism and the Pentagon, and the seminar, or better still, the unstructured group, with Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh.

C. *Difficulties of student participation*

The word " participation " now belongs to the folklore of technology, and the idea of an institutionalised participation by students in the choice of their curriculum and the management of their studies has of course been popularised by the publicity given to the protests and demonstrations of university students. Nevertheless the idea has some deep roots in adult education. In the history of its voluntary associations, associations which in Germany have brought forth the *Volkshochschule*, in Denmark and Sweden the study circles and in the United Kingdom the WEA class, there is a long tradition of the application of this idea in practice. The official Swedish definition of a study circle is:

" a group of people who meet to pursue a common study of a predetermined subject or group of related subjects. "

It does not mention " teaching " at all, and in practice the circle is composed of persons mutually assisting each other, the " leader " being one member who acts as co-ordinator in procedures that are truly democratic. To quote once again from the 1970 statement by the Education Minister:

" The members have full freedom to discuss and decide on study aims, to determine the direction, procedure and pace of studies, and, indeed, everything applying to the work of the circle. "

The Workers Educational Association class is only one manifestation of the life of the branch, a voluntary association whose concern is with the educational and general social progress of its area as a whole, for which it decides upon a programme of courses. It is as members that the course students decide upon their subject, select their tutor and bring their criticism to bear upon the syllabus he proposes. It may well be that the positions just quoted have become more theoretical than real with the passage of time, the accumulation of highly specialised knowledge and the increasing specialisation and professionalism of the academic teacher. Nevertheless there is constant evidence of the real control exercised by students over their own learning situation in the work of the voluntary organisations. Indeed it is the envy of those workers in adult education in the field directly governed by the statutory authorities, and the authorities themselves are studying how to introduce student participation into their work. The conference organised by the Danish Ministry to which reference has been made (" Nature and objectives of Adult Education ") resolved that:

(*a*) the teacher must retire from leadership;

(*b*) the participants themselves must plan the curriculum;

(*c*) the students must make their own rules;

(*d*) they themselves must settle conflicts that arise;

(*e*) they must be urged constantly to revise their plans and regulations;

(*f*) they must be made capable of independent study.

This pushes the concept of participation to its fullest flowering into autogestion.

This body of ideas has established itself as a forward-looking feature of adult education everywhere, but difficulties have been found in putting it into practice where there is no tradition on which to build. Where public authorities make the provision, there is a direct customer-purveyor relationship between the individual student and the authority, and no true association intervenes at the initial stage. The association has to be created later, and it is difficult to avoid a certain artificiality. Attempts are made to set up student councils which will play a part similar to that of the voluntary associations in their sector of adult education. But it is difficult to harmonise such a role with the facts of control by the public authorities, particularly on the financial side. These student councils tend to be charged only with peripheral functions — the organisation of festivals, canteen arrangements — and tend therefore to have only an emasculated life.

A real initiative is needed on the part of public authorities, involving an act of faith in the ultimate goodwill and responsibility of ordinary people, and a tolerance for small errors in the minutiae of record-keeping and account keeping. Indeed, more than this, what is needed is a willingness on the part of the authorities to energise and induct people attractively into taking a share in the control of their own education, for, too often, inertia and apathy prevail and the easiest course is taken of leaving everything to officials and teachers. Some success along these lines has been recorded in the Federal Republic, and in Oxfordshire in England the authority has delegated some of its responsibilities, including some measure of financial responsibility, to committees drawn from the local communities. It is, of course, much easier to promote a sense of reality and vitality in self-management where there are permanent premises whose usage and upkeep demand concrete decisions.

Generally speaking, one may say that in our countries, with the exception of the work of certain voluntary associations, formalised student participation is still an avant-garde notion not yet overtaken by much in practice. There are, of course, some professional workers in adult education who see this type of autogestion, firstly, as one more burdensome disincentive for the mute multitude; secondly, as one more opportunity for eminence for the middle-class verbalist; and thirdly as a piece of structured hocus-pocus whereby governments, like big industrial firms, use a pseudo-dialogue to avoid the real decision which would emerge from a confrontation.

D. *Group work*

It is then, as we have suggested, not so much in terms of new formalities, but in terms of teaching methods and relationships, that the new trend is visible. The diminution of the dais, the move away from a structured lecturer-audience polarity, have been reinforced by that body of thought and practice known as social group work largely based upon studies in group dynamics. It is not possible here to give even a short account of this formidable body of doctrine; as there are several distinct schools and a number of varying eminent exponents it would be partial in any case. A certain number of positive inferences, about the teaching of adults under conventional circumstances seem, however, to emerge from it all.

The teacher should merge himself as far as possible in the life of the human group which a class composes - and he should do everything possible to ensure that the dozen or so individuals who arrive first become such a group. In fact he must see himself as one of its members, particularly charged with maintaining continuity but otherwise assuming a variety of roles as the outward-looking purposes of the group demand them: resource person, facilitator, conscience keeper, stimulator, fellow-learner. This should be his *modus operandi*, rather than to stand over against the group as a representative of an exterior establishment. He should recognise the " specificity of leadership " - in other words that on certain topics or in certain situations it will be one or other of the group, and not the tutor, who is the true teacher.

The advantages of this method, it is claimed, are manifold. First and foremost he helps the class to become and remain a group, rather than a " togetherness situation " ; a group in which face to face social relationships take place and develop, and whose members can experience a variety of roles. As a human personality may be defined as the sum of its roles, the value of this for personal development is plain. Such group-life is one of the most important contributions which adult education can make to society, for it is, as it were, a psychological vitamin increasingly scarce under modern conditions. The need for group life is deeply engraved in all of us during infancy by family experience, for it is in the family that we learn to express ourselves in acceptable ways in the expectation of a gratifying affirmation of our value as members. People who in childhood have been deprived of this experience show signs of maladjustment and emotional disorder. After adolescence, however, the family ceases to satisfy the need for group-life, and membership of at least one group outside the family is essential for mental health. The adult finds that this applies also to the new family of which he or she has become a member as husband, wife or parent. With only the family for life-space, the individual is thrown back constantly upon primordial emotions and unprogressive roles. The commitment of family life is so deep and so charged with emotion that trial and error in playing new, progressive roles is seldom tolerable. The development of personality is thus restricted.

For very many adults today lack of group-life outside the family is responsible for a psychological deficiency disease - sometimes anomie whose symptoms are a chronic sense of isolation and social vertigo, and occasionally a compulsive type of erratic behaviour as the search goes on for status and a framework of approval. All those who are at all familiar with adult education have noted the extent to which it can answer this desire for social relationship and approval. To ensure that this response is in fact made by the classwork is as much a part of the teacher's educational duty as to facilitate the learning of the subject matter.

E. *Group work and progressive learning*

But, it is claimed, the group work approach actually has advantages, so far as learning a subject is concerned, over the confrontation of a collection of individuals with a teacher. It takes account of the fact that only in the free, and often vagrant, interchange of ideas between equal members of a group can the real learning needs and difficulties of the individual be identified. Only there, too, can the proper predisposing attitudes for learning be adopted, as contrasted with the withdrawn isolation and diffidence and hostility to the tutor which affect most students in other methods. The experience of the group, tactfully influenced by the tutor, can give each individual a chance to play the roles of communicator, interpreter, critic, expert, deviant and so on - roles in which the student will be challenged and tested and appreciated for his increasing knowledge, and through which he comes to develop that insight which is a prerequisite for the formation of ideas and concepts. Group work methods are suited to an individual pace of progress and - a fact of supreme importance if adult education is to descend the socio-economic scale - it allows time, scope and encouragement for verbalisation by those who are at a disadvantage in this respect. Most important, from the point of view of sheer learning, is the consensus emerging from recent research to the effect that no factor in the learning process is more potent than explanation or demonstration to others of what has been learnt. It is in this way that people are led to demonstrate, or to formulate in words, ideas or processes to which they have been fumbling and which, with sudden insight, they realise they have made their own. Writing recently in *Neue Volksbildung*, Dr. Niggermann, in an article on *Gruppenarbeit*, stated that people take into their consciousness 20 % of what they hear, 30 % of what they see, but 70 % of what they say or do themselves.

It will readily be seen that such lines of thought imply a transformation of class work which goes far beyond increased informality and a reduction of lecturing. There are, indeed, not many examples yet of adult education which proceeds in this way, but there are sufficient to be significant. Indeed in the work which is promoted as part of schemes of community development, the professional workers say that this is the only possible educational method.

Its application to the vocational or examinational course is still a matter for conjecture, for there the students have a definite target of knowledge and achievement and a set time, and for this purpose *Gruppenarbeit* methods tend to be rambling and repetitive. Nor is it clear how group work methods can be made consistent with the findings of research into methods for training and recyclage for industry. A leading British consultant, Dr. R.M. Belbin, has written that individual, " heuristic " methods tend to prove themselves most effective in this field of work, particularly when accompanied by long solo practice runs in which the individual can test himself against the norm of his own previous performance. Again, it is not always easy to foresee how the " social vitamin " benefits of the group work approach can cohere with the pre-planned programming of a multi-media system type of learning, except as a contrived additive basically separate from the main learning process.

F. *The enduring need for student effort*

Not all revisions of method have been along " softer " lines. Others have been based on the view that too much of adult education has failed to challenge the student sufficiently, has been dominated by the fear of driving him away by too great difficulties and demands for study, thought and writing, and has insufficiently stressed that the course meeting is only one weekly punctuation in a daily process of learning. In this view, the low standard of academic or skill progress and achievement of too many courses accounts for the dubious status of adult education. In the " Study on methods in Catholic adult education in Germany ", a report for the Sixth International Conference of the European Federation of Catholic Adult Education in 1966, strong emphasis was placed upon student participation, not as a piece of fashionable ultra democracy, but as a means of promoting among the students the habit of critical and independent thought. Even greater stress, however, was placed upon the need for a high quality of work based upon sustained effort, concentration and study not only in class but between meetings. Lectures, the report says, should be kept to a minimum. It is of course possible that such a tightening up of demand would find a readier response among those who are strongly motivated towards educational progress and will accept the additional effort.

In Sweden a number of pilot projects to find more suitable methodological approaches are going forward. Several influential voluntary organisations petitioned the government for a substantial grant towards experiments in ways of reaching those most in need of adult education by the use of new methods. These experiments are to be carried out in ten representative places. They are to be accompanied by special incentives such as study during employment hours, cash allowances, baby-sitters, travel allowances, free meals and tuition.

It is important that such efforts at outreach - for a greater numerical impact for adult education - should not involve a relaxation of standards of achievement. In the last analysis the central purpose of adult education is not the provision of a " social vitamin ". Groups for this purpose solely could be provided under several different agencies of society, for example, health or welfare. Education, whatever contribution it makes in this respect, has its own specific aim - the liquidation of ignorance and incompetence being a large part of it. Indeed in their permanent education paper already quoted, MM. Moles and Muller have underlined the necessity of winning the mass of our populations to the hard task of equipping themselves to be able to structure the plethora of information with which they are over-burdened by the mass media so that it forms a system of values with which they can face life.

G. " Le Refus Ouvrier? "

This is the sub-title of No. 1 of a series *Documentation et Enquêtes* published by the French Ministry of Culture and it discusses some of the difficulties of making *initiatives culturelles* effectively in working class milieux. An article by the writer of the present study on the same topic appeared in *Education Permanente*, the journal of the *Institut*

National pour la Formation des Adultes for January-March 1970. A number of approaches have been recommended and a number of claims for success have been made. Prominent among them are, of course, new types of publicity using radio and television. In Sweden television advertisement of adult education facilities is beamed down upon workers in factories to apprise them of opportunities for pleasure and advancement. At a conference at Nottingham University in England in 1971 the use of local radio, a recent growth in that country, was recommended as a way of making contact with the housewife as she goes about her daily household routine. It is clear that the arrangements, to which we will refer later, in several countries for educational leave from work will provide a more favourable opportunity for the attraction of workers to adult education.

In the Irish Republic the interim report of the Ministerial Committee on adult education has suggested the extension of governmental advisory services - on farming methods etc. - to include home economics to respond to widespread domestic and personal needs, and for this service to be directly linked with the provision of courses by adult education agencies. Other techniques which have been proposed or actually applied include the use of peripatetic tutors charged to seek out and participate in, as opportunity arises, the unstructured discussions which arise spontaneously in "pubs", at street corners, wherever people congregate in leisure or breaks during work. The aim is to touch off a more enduring interest, form groups or recruit for existing study groups. Such work is not only taxing for the tutor, but demands a special sympathy on the part of his authority. Other attempts have been based on courses that deal seriously with what at first appear to be educationally unfruitful subjects such as partisan sports spectatorship. There is a report in the journal of the National Institute of Adult Education in England, *Adult Education* Vol. 44 No. 1, on a course arranged for football fans of a particular club. The course made use, as tutors, of the highly specialised personnel attached to the team: therapists, trainers, doctors, as well as referees and other experts. The report speaks of a good numerical response and of certain attitude changes in the students which are not without educational significance. These include the development of an ability to analyse the game, no longer to be a mere watcher of the player with the ball but to discern strategy and pattern.

A research survey undertaken by this national institute in the period 1968-9 has been confirmed by findings in other countries to the effect that it is often easier to introduce working people to adult education when the course is located on the premises of the works or factory. This of course may be merely a matter of convenience, but the research conclusions tend to indicate that for the working man, recruitment to adult education is more likely if he is to join a group which is homogeneous in occupation and social rating with his own. The divisive effects of residual class polarity must still be taken into account where questions of culture, educational competence and forms of expression are involved. There is in Europe generally an unexamined assumption that this operates more powerfully in Britain than elsewhere, but few would deny that everywhere it is responsible for diffidence, reluctance to expose limitations, and, consequently, to take part in the " open " cross-section courses which are more usual in adult education.

H. *Significance of television in education in this connection*

By definition the mass media are in touch with the broadest section of our peoples, and television supremely so. Professor Shaw of Keele University sees in it a great hope for developments in adult education which will give it contact with the masses, because this medium is one in which ordinary people have confidence and to which they are accustomed to look for trustworthy information. Assumptions of this kind have been made by the planners of such systems as the Bavarian *Telekolleg* and the Open University in England. Some light has recently been thrown on them by a paper " Mass communications research and adult education " by the Director of the Centre for Mass Communication at the University of Leeds, Professor Halloran. This treats of the role of the mass media in changing attitudes and opinion and the extent to which in addition a face-to-face contact is needed. Television offers to the recipient a message that has, in advance, great credibility and involvement of his ego, and also that comes in a format expertly designed to ensure that the message falls within the range of his assimilation both from the cognitive and effective points of view. One must note that it is not necessarily the factual content of a message which changes or creates an attitude so much as the emotional ambience with which it is surrounded. The experts of television have taken this into account; too often our adult education makes a wrong assumption of a prevailing rationality.

The work of sociologists like D. Katz and D. Riesman has shown that an attitude in favour of rationality is not natural to human beings but has to be created. However there are limits to the direct power of television. Its messages are not received passively by a collection of isolated individuals, but by people who belong to social groups with whom, afterwards, they examine the experience. Professor Jean Cazeneuve in *Les Pouvoirs de la Télévision* summarises research which demonstrates the importance in this connection of a category of people who are " opinion-leaders ". Among their characteristics are that they are gregarious people, themselves ready assimilators of mass media messages, who belong to the same social class or occupational group as those whom they lead. They are often situated strategically, as, for example, in the small neighbourhood shop or bar. The inferences for adult education in its outreach towards the working class may be of importance.

I. *Multiple solution of the problem*

Response to people's vocational and gainful motivations will of course broaden the appeal of adult education among many in the lower socio-economic categories, and, in passing (for we are not dealing with this topic here), it may be noted that in Denmark an advanced school of thought in folk high school circles presses for a break with the Grundvig tradition and the inclusion of vocational work in syllabuses. In his contribution to the Council of Europe Permanent Education series M.B. Schwartz, Conseiller with the French National Ministry of Education, suggests that the way forward towards a really democratically based adult education will involve a multiple effort - not merely the provision of courses which are occupationally and career-orientated, but also missionary work, extra-murally, in their areas by the staff of secondary and technical schools - for, in his view, separate staffs tend to become remote and irrelevant to the life of ordinary people; the spread of audio-visual learning, with the establishment of suitably equipped centres; special programmes for those in circumstances of special need such as the populations of new towns, those entering retirement, or married women about to return to the labour force; and, lastly, the involvement of adult education in the whole broad-front movement to develop the community generally.

7

ADULT EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

A. *What is community development?*

The term is today increasingly to be encountered in adult educational circles. At the Danish Conference on the Future and Objectives of Adult Education to which we have referred earlier, it was recommended in the report:

> " Adult education should not be just an agency serving the community as it is. It has an active role to play in community development. "

There is no authoritative definition of community development, and the words are used to describe a developing concept which embraces a number of distinct ideas. They are, however, all concerned with improving the social environment as it is experienced by people who, in respect of this experience, can be regarded as a community and who can be induced to act as a community in the work of improvement. The social environment is taken to be not merely a matter of physical circumstances and amenities but also those patterns of daily life and movement, and those social attitudes which are prevalent, which can affect the opportunities that people find for expressive and recreative personal life and group relationships. Community development looks particularly at those communities where the social environment is outstandingly deficient, and such communities tend to be found in certain defined geographical areas - a fact which itself makes for the emergence of a sense of community, and is one of the desired features of the process. Disadvantaged urban areas, neglected or deprived rural areas - these spring readily to mind, but there is also a less spectacular but equally painful social deficiency to be found in many new towns and housing estates. Community development is not a charitable or " rescue " movement, however, for, ultimately, the " goods " which it proposes are relevant to communities of every social class.

It envisages the establishment of productive relationships between three forces; firstly, the outreach of government, through the integrated planning of certain of its departments, to raise the level of the social environment in a given area, and to stimulate, and co-operate with, the efforts to this end of the communities in that area : secondly, the work of individuals, usually the employees of either statutory or voluntary bodies, to urge and help people in these communities to participate in ameliorating their circumstances ; thirdly, the spontaneous expression by the people themselves of a sense of community in need and aspiration. All three forces are historical facts of the last quarter of a century, and it should be noted that while some theorists attach greatest importance to the third, in practice initiative has usually come from the other two.

So far as government has been concerned this initiative has been manifested by an explicit determination to reduce the social imbalance created by the existence of a particular deprived area ; to welcome and co-operate with the efforts of communities themselves, and to reinforce the efforts of individual workers and voluntary associations with support and finance. Usually governments set up a special agency to co-ordinate the work of several of their own departments with that of voluntary bodies and local community effort. Individual workers, whether they are employed by government or voluntary bodies, have often given the lead and drawn the attention of government to the possibilities of development. It has long been the complaint of teachers, adult educators, health visitors, probation officers and group-therapy workers that their work is done in isolation from each other and thus is liable to stultification by an environment which is contra-productive. Under community development schemes, they are enabled to join forces in team-work, and to help people to help themselves and avail themselves of their legal entitlements and creative powers.

B. *Ethical background and methods*

In the last analysis community development is based upon a certain ethic. This has come to be associated with words that are currently fashionable - sometimes to the point of irritation - such as " involvement ", " commitment " " participation ", " appropriation " ; nevertheless it is an ethic with a long and honourable history, which includes the ideals of Periclean democracy and much of Christian social doctrine, and there is scarcely a political party which would reject it. One of its tenets is that people have not reached their best unless, as members of a community, they exercise some control over their environment and are not merely passive recipients of social benefits or ills. Allied to this is the belief that to wish for the well-being of others is normally a strong human impulse, neglect or starvation of which brings personal tension and dissatisfaction. The connection with movements that have gone into the making of adult education is not hard to seek, and there is an affinity between the two methodologies, in so far as adult education begins to reach out towards the least educated sections of society.

Many of the areas which are prime targets for community development have a preponderance of people who lack the ability to give expression to any sense of community or to formulate, let alone plan, participant action to meet their needs. Oppressed by too many disadvantages they cannot identify those which are amenable to action. Educational help from outside is necessary. At the same time they are people who have acquired a considerable distrust of all that is commonly known as " education " in its institutionalised sense. They associate it with former failure or with teachers who, for all their benevolence, " do not understand " life as it is lived in these milieux. Thus adult educationists associated with community development schemes are prepared to take part in them often in the guise of group counsellors or in other roles which are different from that of course tutor. These adult educators have evolved methods designed to induce people to try and understand the nature of their situation and to find ways of improving it, yet which have no savour of the schoolroom about them and are not authoritarian or didactic. They make an approach, not as teachers with a ready-made subject or syllabus, but as fellow-men whose task it is to bring people together to identify their own problems and learning needs. Such an approach, of course, has much in common with the group work mentioned earlier. In a number of our countries eminent adult educationists have seen participation in schemes of community development as a way of approach to the very basement of the social structure, and a means whereby adult education may recapture some of its former fire and idealism - which sometimes seem to be disappearing in the growing response made to the broad demand for education for vocational and social promotion. At the same time, they see in it a chance once again to enrich the texture of adult education with the ideas of unsophisticated people who often have an insight into social problems which they can rarely put into words.

Community development in several countries

In the last chapter reference was made to the suggestions of Mr. Schwarz for a comprehensive approach to peoples' needs; these ideas have been carried into effect in a programme associated with his name in the metalliferous area of Lorraine in France. Here is an example of one kind of adult education in a setting of community development. The Dutch document " Function and Future of Adult Education " suggests a variant of this in programmes which are specially related to family and dwelling problems in the lives of those who might otherwise feel themselves at the mercy of impersonal forces beyond their control. In particular it stresses the need for work which will bring about a *Mentalitätsveränderung* in husband-wife attitudes and in attitudes to the aged.

So far as Europe is concerned it seems probable that community development has longest roots in Italy. Although the controversial name of Danilo Dolci has achieved international celebrity, the community development movement in Italy was in fact more associated with the work of the Olivetti firm in Piedmont, as early as 1946. About the same time Esso, followed by other firms, co-operated with local governments in Lucania and Toscana. More recently programmes of community development have operated in areas where there has been substantial male emigration, such as Calabria, and have naturally stressed the education of women, among whom an interest about life in foreign countries - the place of sojourn of husbands and sons - has acted as a starting point for education concerning the social and economic aspects of emigration. Quite separately, in a number of areas in Italy, a great effort has been made with programmes based upon specially constituted *Centri di Lettura*. Starting with the problem which arose after the dislocation of education, particularly in initially disadvantaged areas, during the wartime and post-war sufferings - a problem characterised by the fact that in some of these areas something like 12 % of the population had become analphabetic - a broad-front programme of development was conceived. Its aim was the reanimation of the socio-cultural life of communities in all categories of life. At present there are 80 centres and the number ultimately envisaged is 230. The centres themselves provide a realistic library of some 5000 volumes, a cinema, television, a discotheque, and a common-room. There is a staff of animateurs who for the most part have been trained as teachers but have also, through seminars, had a special orientation for this work. Much of it is not connected directly with adult education; for example, work with classes of children after school in which they are "sensitised" to the possibilities of the arts - music and crafts particularly. This, in turn, leads to seminars for their parents, to explain the purport of this type of activity, and for teachers in the schools to make them aware of these and other community needs. The actual adult education programmes at, or extra-murally dependent on, the centres include courses for trade unionists and also a wide range of subjects which will heighten awareness among people of their situation and of the possibilities of improving it by community action. The administration of the *Centri* involves the participation of members of the community, both young and adult.

The publication *Gemeinwesenarbeit in der Schweiz* by the organisation *Pro Juventute* of Zürich is an indication of the interest and progress of community development in Switzerland. Its purposes are set forth as enabling larger groups of people to undertake self-help through the action of communities to which they belong and to which they have a sense of duty; and through participation in the activities of the structures, such as civic councils, which affect their environment. An example of how this can work out in practice is given in an account by H. Joss of the formation, on the initiative of a foreign woman, of a residents' association in the new town of Meyrin where many simple amenities were lacking. In six years these forms of co-operative self-help had endowed the community with a crèche, an advice bureau, church services, shopping facilities and courses in adult education in both academic and practical subjects.

In the United Kingdom, joint circulars from several ministries (the Home Office, Department of Education and Science, Department of Health and Social Security) announced in 1970 an " Urban Programme " of four years, costing £ 25 million, " to improve social services in areas of special need ". The characteristics of these special areas listed were " multiple deprivation " and " notable deficiencies in physical environment ", and reference was made to overcrowded housing, large families, persistent unemployment, children in trouble or need of care, and large immigrant settlement. The programme is to include nursery schools and classes, day nurseries, play-groups, centres for the elderly, family advice centres, and community centres. It is expected that adult education will play a significant part both directly, in inducing people to study their situation, and also by the provision of training for workers and emergent auxiliary workers in the administration of the programme. There is already a good deal of experience of such work among adult educationists. More than one university extra-mural department has had for some time, as at Manchester, members of staff who have specialised in a community development approach in certain run-down urban areas. The Workers' Educational Association has similar experience, for example, in the Paddington Social Project in a sub-cultural area of Liverpool. This was conceived by adult educationists to comprise work built around primary social groups or those which form, say, among the parents of children attending the same school or those attending certain much frequented places like employment bureaux, according to neighbourhood patterns.

It is not possible to refer in greater detail to other equally striking examples of adult education in a community development setting which have been reported, as for example in Britanny, or in Mediterranean countries like Malta and Turkey.

D. *General observations*

Enough has been said to suggest that work of this kind constitutes an emerging trend in adult education. Naturally it must count on special financial resources made available by governments and on abandonment of the criterion of student numbers as a measure of success. There appears to be some danger that enthusiasts for community development as a central theme in adult education may set up a needless hostility by the very urgency of their propaganda which can assume a pontifical, not to say " dirigiste " tone. At least some readers of the British report *Youth and Community in the 70s*, (HMSO 1970) were so affected, and the same is true of certain parts of the Dutch document " Future and Function of Adult Education ". It would be a pity if a valuable message were deprived of its full impact by understandable impatience.

For there is a larger sense in which this message - preaching the gospel of the " active society " in which social passivity is held to be a moral evil - may be of importance to our European civilisation. Some of the disorderly protest of recent times has originated in the lack of any acceptable patterns for effective participation in control of the social environment. A more serious symptom is a widespread apathy and cynicism about democratic political forms, arising from a sense of impotence to influence decisions that affect individual lives vitally. Community development may, then, have a contribution to make in the welfare States of Western Europe where, often, there seems to be little affection for forms of government that are explicitly dedicated to the well-being of the people as never before in history.

At the humbler level of the adult education practitioner the message of community development could be summarised as the need to go into the areas of need, not in the name of education, but to help with the solution of problems around which educational activities may arise as incidentals. In one Italian village the chief need of the community was for the opening of a butcher's shop.

8

CAREER ORIENTATED WORK

A. *A new attitude*

For a number of countries (France, the Federal Republic and the United Kingdom, for example) one of the most significant developments that is taking place in adult education is the inclusion of a really substantial element of work which is geared to examinations for higher qualifications, or which will qualify people for higher occupational posts, or higher remuneration, or which will re-train them for new work. In some countries, such as Sweden, this is less novel, for the distinction between " vocational " and " liberal " has not been so sharply drawn. Nevertheless recent moves have tended almost to obliterate it. The Swedish folk high schools have included the work to which we refer in their curriculum, and it is to be noted that the marked increase in the global Swedish budget for adult education for the period 1970-1 is in large measure devoted to vocational re-training schemes identified by the Labour Market Board. Many adult educationists have been pressing for such a development for some years. The Council of Europe conference at Marly-le-Roi in 1967 sounded this note and, again, at the Liverpool conference in 1969 came a demand that adult education should not be confined to liberal and recreational studies.

Indeed since about 1960 the humanist tradition of adult education has been more and more affected by a concern to be " relevant ", to be realistic and practical. Among other things it has had to take account of a major swing in public opinion and in educational circles generally in favour of examinations - in the schools, in particular, where the idea of free, untested development for the less academically able has given place to the introduction of lower level examinations such as the Certificate of Secondary Education in England - and the inclusion of contact with the " world of work ". In the Federal Republic a feature of adult education has been a determined effort to devise methods of qualification through examination which do not destroy the student's chance of a normal leisure and family life. In Norway the principle has been accepted that school and vocational examinations may be taken by the accumulation of credit units with no set time limit.

It must be noted, however - and we shall return to the point - that this change of attitude has aroused considerable controversy among adult educationists.

B. *New-style vocational incentives*

If the old-style work ethic, with its concepts of duty and pride in a particular calling, has tended to disappear, it has been replaced by an emerging ethic - in the USA it has been called " fun-morality " - according to which the need for costly apparatus of personal and leisure life and for expensive status symbols is a strongly motivating force. This increases as acquisitive sights are raised to new targets as they come upon the market. A device such as a dish-washer or a colour TV set soon passes from the stage of being a luxury to that of being a necessity, the lack of which is a mark of deprivation and comparative failure. Side by side with all this, salesmen and advertisers have created the image of the " with-it " successful person, socially competent in a conspicuous way that manifests itself in the trappings and raiment, manners and gadgets of affluence, and commanding the admiration and desire of nubile members of the opposite sex. The entitlement to all this is a job in which, as expert, the successful person has both power and high salary. Such drives towards qualification for higher earning capacity are added to rising domestic expectations and higher ambition on the part of parents for their children.

C. *Earlier attitudes*

There is nothing entirely new in the principle involved. Adult education has, for some, always been a route to vocational advancement, and tutors have been conscious of their obligation in this respect. But the opportunities were restricted and it was not held that this should be one of the prime tasks. It was secondary to general education and cultivation for the inherent value of things. There was, no doubt, some discrepancy between the objectives of the providers and the actual purposes of the students. A characteristic feature of adult education in this respect was the work undertaken for trade unionists. While it has always contributed to the formation of people who became, so to speak, career trade unionists and paid officials, this education was originally intended to equip workers in general to face management on equal terms and to grasp the nature of their responsibilities to fellow-workers and to society as a whole. The situation is not quite the same today, largely because trade unionism itself has passed beyond a charismatic stage and has developed a highly specialised set of skills and branches of knowledge essential to the organised professional staff now employed. On another front, it is noticeable that in the United Kingdom certain long-term residential colleges which at one time were dedicated to the general liberalisation of workers, who returned to the shop floor, are now increasingly filled with young adults using them as a second-chance entry into universities. But everywhere one can note a new factor in the emergence of a large-scale demand for career education and a greater willingness to respond to it. In Sweden, for example, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of students availing themselves of the evening *Gymnasium* courses introduced in 1967 and leading to the *Gymnasium* type examinations. Indeed the official description of Swedish adult education for English readers begins with an account of the vocational training provided for those who are in danger of becoming unemployed or on the books of the National Employment service. The Labour Market Board provides adult education for over 100 000 people each year. All this is to say nothing of education provided for their workers by business firms, as in the Federal Republic where it is estimated that such students outnumber those in all the rest of adult education, or of the increasing tendency for legislation to include adult education in measures concerning labour, and to finance it for this purpose from social security, as in Norway, or in the *Arbeitsförderungsgezetz* as in the Federal Republic and Austria.

D. *An enduring motive*

A recent survey undertaken in the United Kingdom by the National Institute of Adult Education concluded that such developments corresponded to an enduring motivation among the broad mass of people. In the popular view adult education is something which is job-slanted, and, certainly among younger students, the predominant motive is vocational in the widest sense of the hope of " getting on ". Writing in *Neue Volksbildung*, the Austrian journal, Professor Haag has recorded his conclusion that this motive is present even where the subject appears to have no vocational purport, and is based on the belief that general cultivation brings wider financial and vocational opportunity. He too speaks of the strength of this belief among younger adults and also of the increasing determination of young people to move out of subordinate positions - of an " enormen Selbständigkeitsdrang in dieser Alterstufe ". In the account of the work of the National High School for Applied Agronomy in France, it is stressed that in the forefront of people's minds in coming to education is " ascension dans la hiérarchie sociale... et promotion de fonction ". In the publication of the Bavarian Rundfunk *Wissenschaftliche Begleituntersuchung zum Telekolleg*, a summary of a report by A. Schardt says : " As surveys have shown, the public want to achieve a condition of social mobility... by virtue of a good education and training. " But there is no lack of similar evidence. To neglect it or reject it would seem to be a dereliction of social duty and to deprive adult education of one of its main chances of broadening its appeal among the vast mass of ordinary people. So, at least, say the advocates of this development.

E. *Governmental interest*

Added to the impetus of popular demand has come a massive concern on the part of governments with any educational provision which can raise the general level of productive skill, increase the national pool of industrial competence and help in the large-scale re-deployment of the labour force which is increasingly demanded by technological developments. In France a highly organised system of recyclage has been set up, which can serve as a model for countries faced with similar problems. In his statement of governmental aims as reported in the press for 16 October 1970, the French Premier spoke of the development of a national system of permanent education, and it was clear from the details that this primarily envisaged vocational education for adults as distinct from " la démocratisation de la culture " which was mentioned separately. In July 1971 these proposals have been given legal force by the *Loi sur la Formation Permanente*. In 1964 the Industrial Training Act in the United Kingdom which introduced the principle of the joint responsibility of firms and government has been followed by the establishment of more than thirty boards for different industries charged with the arrangement of courses of training and of " associated further education ".

It is becoming clear, however, that our societies can afford to waste no possible source of productive skill, and attempts to tap hitherto unpromising sources seem almost to join hands with community development. American example has been influential, as in the National Basic Education Programmes with their impressive measurable achievements. In 1968 for example the Colorado Project had serviced 1 800 000 adults with the use of counsellors " indigenous to the target area ", and was able to report that:

62 000 had learned to read
87 000 had found jobs, got " raises " or promotion
48 000 had entered job-training programmes
25 000 had opened bank accounts
8 000 had come off social security relief
27 000 had become subscribers to newspapers
3 500 had exercised for the first time their right to vote.

Although one might question the stigmata of improvement, they indicate, at least, that no mere increase in material possessions is involved; action of this kind blends both ethical and productivity considerations.

Professor Taylor, in his report on " Policy and planning for post-secondary education ", has underlined this concurrence of a move towards the equalisation of opportunity and social justice with a move to increase the pool of available productive ability. Upper middle class children, he notes, are thirteen times more likely to achieve a certificate than working class children if both groups are of below average ability; if both are of average ability the middle class child has three times the likelihood; with both groups of above average ability, there is little difference. The operation of this factor clearly entails a great loss of potential qualification.

As we have mentioned, governmental interest in this development in adult education rests largely upon the need to redeploy the labour force and therefore to re-train, and also to prepare psychologically, large numbers of people. The swing from production to service and from primary production in agriculture and mining to light industry, the call for a trained labour force of women who also have household duties, are all factors making for the readiness of governments to look to adult education. Writing of the situation in Germany, Helmut Oeller in *Was heisst Studienprogramm?* says, " Even statistically agriculture and minerals no longer form the basis of life; in the last twenty years the mental faculties have been the basis of existence for German industrial society. " The multi-media systems to be treated in the next chapter - such as the *Telekolleg* and the Open University - have placed these needs of society for increased qualification and skill high among their avowed purposes.

F. *New attitudes in universities*

This is shown not merely in the greater prominence given by university extra-mural departments to the once frowned-on career biased course or to refresher courses for highly qualified professional workers. There has been a growth in most countries in the part played by internal university departments in adult professional re-training across a broad section of the national economic life. A survey undertaken by the Council of Europe shows that in most of our countries the universities mount extensive programmes, not only for doctors, lawyers, dentists and teachers, but also for people engaged at high level in industry, including such specialisms as " carpet-testing ", " the microscopy of ceramics ", " vacuum engineering " and the subjects appropriate to " informaticiens de la gestion ". The untenability of any hard line between vocational and liberal education is suggested by the fact that this body of courses also includes " German for technologists " or " expression for engineers " (Federal Republic). Indeed, even if adult education were still to be regarded as the diffusion to a wider public of the culture of universities it would have to reorientate its elf in vocational directions. It has, indeed, been suggested in some circles that the function of an extra-mural department should no longer be confined to those beyond the walls but that it should play an increasing part in breaching internal walls and be a co-ordinating centre for the internal and external work of all departments. In any case, there can be no doubt about the readiness of the universities to play a significant part in industrial training and re-training.

G. *Adult education for university degrees*

There is a new attitude among many practitioners of adult education to courses which are directly geared to an examination which gives or leads to a qualification of career value. Pride of place among these is given, of course, to university degrees, and, by inference, to those intermediate stages towards university entry which also have a value on the market in their own right: *Abitur*, Advanced Level etc.

By and large, access to a university has been everywhere the exclusive privilege of those who are in a position to spend several years of continuous full-time study, often in residential conditions but, in any case, in such a way that self-support by gainful occupation is precluded. In the overwhelming majority of cases this opportunity falls to the young as a part of the initial education system. Exceptions exist but they are based upon great personal fortitude and resolution. Adult education has not hitherto been a road to a university degree. As Dr. Styler, writing of the British scene, has said, " the part-time degree is the missing element " in adult education. The present trend represents an attempt to get away from this position, and it is a natural consequence of policies generally adopted in Western Europe for a higher survival and transition rate in secondary education. There has also been a move to increase the number of para-university places by the creation of second-tier establishments like the polytechnics in the United Kingdom, or institutions that offer shorter courses covering part of the university degree curriculum as in the French *Instituts Universitaires* and the German *Fachhochschulen* which are part of the *Gesamthoschscule* which is a constituent university institution. A similar development is envisaged in the Norwegian district colleges. It is perhaps through the up-grading of such institutions, and arrangements for their courses to be taken by part-time students accumulating credit units, and through the action of establishments such as the Open University, that adult education students will gain that access to degree-type qualifications for which a considerable body of opinion among tutors presses strongly. The readiness of universities themselves to co-operate in this trend seems more conjectural, and an investigation of their attitudes lies beyond the scope of this study.

H. *Qualifications awarded by adult education itself*

Some institutions of adult education have for many years awarded their own certificates of achievement and progress, but the emphasis in their purpose has not been upon the vocational validity of the award but upon its provision of a stimulus and measuring stick for study. Can such certificates also bear a career value? The system introduced by the German *Volkshochschul-Verband* envisages a positive answer. The syllabuses are of a very high standard, involving detailed and intense study, and the method of examination is sufficiently rigorous to command the respect of employers. As we shall see a similar development is true of the *Telekolleg*, and it marks a trend in Germany sufficiently clear for it to have earned the title of *Verschulung* - the scholarisation of adult education. The term quite accurately suggests that the trend has been the subject of controversy. Representing one point of view Dr. Tietgens (*Zertifikate für Erwaschsenenbildung*) has said that the new-style *Volkshochschule* no longer needs to place the emphasis upon personal and social remedial work (*die Rettung der Persönlichkeit und der Gemeinschaft*) but rather upon the advancement of individuals and society to higher levels. This progress in adult education itself conduces to the introduction of certificates.

I. *Changed nature of vocational education*

The old polarity between " liberal " and " vocational " studies has become obscured by the increasing inclusion in the latter of humane disciplines or parts of them. Vocational education is no longer the narrow mastery of a skill or piece of professional expertise which was once so highly prized. Recteur Jean Capelle, in the Council of Europe permanent education studies, has stressed the fact that it has become impossible to train adequately for any job without educating the worker to do the job with comprehension of its social significance and an ability to come to terms with the circumstances which surround the job and the way of life it entails. According to the official Report on Education No. 35 of the Department of Education in London, the Central Training Council under the Industrial Training Act has defined the aims of the further education which must accompany training as including: knowledge and appreciation of job techniques, relevant scientific and technological knowledge and awareness of problems in related industries, understanding of society as a whole, and an increased capacity to undertake more advanced study. This is a document not designed for educational visionaries but for representatives of business firms. The OECD document on British manpower already quoted notes that training in the engineering industry has been remodelled on a module system which ensures that it is broader based and more flexible.

Some of the older generation of employers are slow to see the value of this new-style vocational education, but as Dr. Zangerle has said, the time is overdue for a considerable degree of *Entmythologisierung* or de-bunking of much in technical education that is narrowly conceived. The specifically technical content has steadily declined over the last quarter of a century and has given place to a greater measure of general scientific knowledge and education for flexibility and adaptability to new circumstances and technical and social change. A new " technological humanism " is beginning to emerge; not some additive to liberalise " the rude mechanicals " but a basic ingredient of industrial training derived from a wide range of recently established humanities covering decision-making, management and work studies, communication patterns, economy of muscular and mechanical movement and others.

It is not clear yet in detail what will be the specifically vocational training required in the post-tertiary stage of industrialisation. Projections suggest that much work which is graded as "skilled" will call, not so much for machine skills, as for the capacity for vigilant visual observation and reliability in performance of a " programmed " response to certain stimuli with, perhaps, only occasional demands for " process-insight ". But as the survey " Research in Adult Education " (H. van Praag) indicates, there are a number of problems which this research must elucidate, including the kind of industrial training best suited to women re-entrants, or to agricultural workers who must adapt to mechanised intensive farming.

J. *A crossroad for adult education*

As we have already suggested, the developments discussed in this chapter have given rise to much heart-searching in adult education circles and much debate among its workers. Those who object to them express the fear that if unchecked they will reduce adult education to a subordinate role in a system which is preoccupied with national economic progress, and with the measurable " output " of education which administrators and politicians have always been quickest to esteem. This will be an output which fits in well with an age of " quantification " in terms of certificates, jobs, promotions, units of material productivity and acquisition, and all else that has value in this era of " cost-effectiveness " and neo-Gradgrindism. The pioneers of adult education, with bitter struggle, established for it a position of respect free from these crippling criteria ; free to enrich, not the purses, but the souls of men, not the national treasury but the quality of life of a society. This position will now be lost, abandoned. An adult education will arise which, as its prime aim, will cater for the more examinable, promotable and materially productive sections of the people, an education which will give to him who hath and care little for the have-nots. It will satisfy the baser drives of teachers and public. It has long been noted that where teachers have to deal with some courses which have specific measurable examination targets, and other courses without those motivations and definitions, they then tend to put their best efforts into the former, for that is the easier path and the smile of authorities beams upon it, and fame is to be won by striding purposefully along it. By contrast, the general education of the people, the animation of their minds, wins neither the approval of the authorities nor the gratitude of the people.

Yes, the mass of people is materialistic in its immediate impulses. It is necessary to undertake research to show that it sets a high value on career and increased-earning types of education. This will constitute a way to its heart, and there will be a snowball of demand. But to respond to it on the scale proposed would be sheer surrender to the crudely materialistic values of simple people who should rather be protected from their own instincts which lie ready for exploitation by the engineers of an affluent consumer mechanism. And what is to become of the vaunted claims of adult education to be the agent of social criticism and amelioration? It is not possible to have the crown of thorns and the thirty pieces of silver - the prestige of being a factor for critical truth and the State subsidies which flow to the educators for productivity. Such developments will only reinforce the competitiveness of the processes of embourgeoisement. Even in this respect they may lead to difficulties. In the opinion of some experts the demand for certain types of managerial and technological workers has passed its peak, and there are dangers of producing a surplus of qualified people. Writing for the British Journal of the National Council for Social Science Research, Professor Buchanan has estimated that sharply decreasing proportions of graduates and technologists will find employment which has a direct bearing upon their qualifications. By contrast, the traditional role of adult education will always do a necessary job in enabling man to form a true picture of his place in the universe and society, and his relationship and obligations to his fellows, and in helping him to participate in that fellowship of scholarly and reasoned thought which will best aid the State and liberate people from their acquisitive instincts. Developments in adult education should concern themselves more with the very substantial portions of the working class who have not been beneficiaries of new affluence; who form, so to speak, the residual corners of the old pyramid which has become a pear. Some estimates speak of 20% of workers as becoming unassimilable in industry - a vast tragedy to blemish the brave new world of increased productivity unless education concerns itself with them.

To such criticisms replies are not wanting. Contempt for popular demand can never be a sound principle in education. To show it is also to predict for people, against their inclinations, some ideal destiny or " true role " which is a pure piece of political theory and no more valid than any other proposition. To expect working people to adopt a questionable " messianic " attitude to their society is more consistent with the café contemplations of comfortably placed academics than with the ambitions and preoccupations of people who have to work for a weekly wage. In the new adult education, development of opportunities for career advancement is a highway to the involvement of more and more such people in educational processes that have in the past responded but meagrely to man's real wishes. Once so-called materialistic satisfactions have been attained there will be plentiful opportunity in the adult education to which they have become habituated for people to turn to the spiritual, the aesthetic and all those studies whereby they can act as agents of social change. In any case much of the work that prepares people for career advancement or which retrains them for industry is truly liberal. Much of it also is genuinely altruistic in so far as it is concerned with service to the community. An example of this is to be found in the social academies in the Netherlands which train people for professional work. Similarly with much of the adult education provided by confessional organisations in the Federal Republic. In England there are a number of courses which are vocational in that they improve the services given by librarians, case-workers and counsellors.

It would be sheer folly for adult education not to co-operate with the interest of governments in training programmes and social promotion. This has brought an access of fresh financial support to adult education, and its benefits will be felt by the more traditional type of provision. It is a sound Clausewitzian principle to reinforce success. In any case, the schools, the college, and the universities have long been vocational establishments in so far as they confer marketable qualifications, and it is not suggested that this has prevented the courses which lead to these qualifications from being educative for the students in the widest liberal, sense of the term.

The safest place for adult education is as a recognised part of an official, comprehensive system of further education, as it is becoming in Sweden, and as it is outlined in the Ten-Year Plan for Education submitted to parliament by the Government of the Federal Republic. Here the education of adults forms part of *Weiterbildung*, a natural extension of the school system, itself a part of *Ständiges Lernen* which caters for the general no less than the vocational needs of the people. Circumstances everywhere are favourable to the career-orientated type of education and adult education should not miss the tide. Without raising ethical difficulties there are enough practical obstacles to be surmounted, as the existing structures for vocational and qualification-conferring education have always shown a marked resistance to any breach in the monopolies and exclusive rights they have acquired. The present climate of opinion induces them to re-examine their position and to consider, at least, recognition of studentship in adult education, properly assessed and certified, as carrying credits towards the diplomas and degrees which have long been their preserve.

K. *Prospects*

Whatever the ultimate outcome, it seems probable that the process of *Verschulung* will continue to gain momentum for the time being; and that the so-called technological humanities have established themselves as a major element in the adult education curriculum. There is, however, evidence of a more balanced type of approach which reconciles the controversial points of view outlined above. This is exemplified by the programmes sponsored by the *Sous-Comité du Bassin Ferrifère* in Lorraine which envisage the education of the working population in all its aspects. For the promotion of this work there is a sub-committee, under the presidency of the *Sous-Préfet*, which contains representatives of the Ministry of Education, of the trade unions, industrial firms and local governments. It should be noted that the experimental nature of the project has enabled adult education, on a limited scale, and a tentative footing, to include the vocational element which has hitherto been the prescriptive right of other agencies. But while this work forms one important strand in the provision, it is only one part of a broad front programme of courses to raise the general educational standard of the region. Indeed, in his account of this work, Mr. Bertrand Schwartz has asked the very searching question as to what a country like Japan, where career incentives are strongly marked in the education of adults, owes the zest and skill shown by its people in sketching, music, poetry and the theatre. He believes that the two are not unconnected ; and that the steadily increasing demands in Europe for education which emerge from technical developments in vocational work will enhance the workers' interest in education of the kind which promotes and involves rapidity of reaction to stimuli, sensitivity and creativity and other qualities which predispose people towards the interests and activities covered by the more traditional courses in adult education.

9

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGY

A. *Two aspects*

Although, as we shall mention, developments in educational technology have had a marked impact upon response in adult education to vocational demands, they must be treated separately, not merely for convenience but also because they are relevant to education of all types. The development of combined or multi-media systems has largely borne the needs of adults in mind. This major theme in the development of adult education is a vast topic with many specialised branches, each with a formidable documentation. It is the subject of a separate series of studies undertaken by the Council of Europe. Following the Munich Conference in 1970, pilot projects are being set on foot, and the Scandinavian countries met at Kungälv in June 1971 to set up a Nordic working group for a multi-media systems development. For these reasons no attempt is made here at any survey or exhaustive appraisal of the impact of educational technology upon adult education. It is, in any case, rather early for such an attempt. But some major examples of its operation will be mentioned together with some of the wider implications and possible consequences. Educational technology will be considered here under two aspects; firstly as providing ancillary services to make existing forms of adult education more effective; and, secondly, as having created new forms of adult education in their own right to which existing adult education agencies may act as auxiliaries. Examples of this are the German *Funkkolleg* and *Telekolleg*, and the English Open University.

1. *As an ancillary of existing forms*

The impact of educational technology on the more traditional types of adult education has not been dramatic. The authorities responsible for radio and television programmes have often shown a marked willingness to help, but the adult education practitioners have shown less eagerness to accept the proffered hand. The British Broadcasting Corporation, for example, has set up a programme committee on which adult educationists are well represented and which seeks to ensure the production of programmes that serve adult education courses. Little use is made of this possibility. There are, of course, difficulties: timing, and the costliness of apparatus for video-reproduction. It would seem, however, that there is some reluctance on the part of teachers of adults to come to terms with new possibilities, whether from conservatism or jealousy or ignorance of the possibilities. Certain pilot projects for the inclusion of a radio or television course among the materials of study for a class have not been widely copied. On the other hand tutors often speak enthusiastically of the demand set up among the public for an area of learning which has been opened up by a previous television course which has had this unplanned side-effect.

Other technological innovations have, of course, added sophistication and effectiveness to adult education - notably the tape-recorder and the cassette. In a course, mainly for school-teachers in Bavaria - a course not involving radio or television - an elaborate system of individual postal tuition by cassette was used with highly satisfactory results. It seems important that governments should begin to exercise an increasing measure of control in the standardisation of cassettes which are largely produced by private concerns and are insufficiently adaptable. In the Federal Republic their production by public educational institutions has been taken in hand.

Correspondence education: Technological developments are to be noted in correspondence education everywhere; this is a suitable place to refer to the increasing demand for this type of learning, which is related to the demand for higher qualifications and has always enjoyed relatively high prestige among the lower income brackets of our societies. In England, a country free from those difficulties of distance and rural isolation which have promoted correspondence education elsewhere, the National Extension College has more than a thousand students enrolled in degree courses alone. Reporting on its work, Mr. J. Blackie, formerly Chief Inspector at the Ministry of Education, has said, " It is making a valuable contribution to adult education. In a heavily commercialised field it is making a demand for quality. " Such an improvement in quality can be aided by the ready adoption of new learning and teaching devices. Correspondence is of course an important part of combined systems. In the Swedish schools at Norrköping and Härnösand adult education is offered at all, including *Gymnasium*, levels as a combination of correspondence and classwork. (Since 1969 Härnösand includes tele-tuition, and there are, of course, quite separately, courses produced by the combined system TRU which unite tele-and radio tuition with the work of study circles and voluntary organisations.)

In his thought-provoking study *The Place of Education by Correspondence in Permanent Education*, Professor E.G. Wedell has stressed the need for this very flexible and important form of education to be brought clearly away from some of its more dubious commercially provided reaches by public recognition and control. He writes:

" It is of the utmost importance that correspondence studies should, in addition to being made genuinely effective, gain a measure of public recognition and esteem. This requires that they should lead to some officially and academically valid qualification. "

He also stresses the urgent need for a body of teachers specially trained for this type of education.

Closed circuit television: Closed circuit television, where there is a suitable establishment and link-up, can be a powerful reinforcement in the teaching of adults. The University of Leeds has recently set up a short circuit television centre for the benefit of all its departments. It can retail programmes to more than a hundred units at one time. The extra-mural department, with its adult education programmes, is of course a beneficiary. However, there are clear limitations to the possibilities of such a development until sufficient properly equipped premises are available. Parallel with this, countries where there are local radio stations not dedicated to commercial advertisement find in them a means of bringing adult educational courses before a much wider range of the public. A recent conference on this theme at Nottingham, however, suggested that efforts by a specially trained staff are needed to take advantage of the results.

Computer based and programmed learning: The same type of reservation applies to any consideration, where adult education is concerned, of the enormous strides made in schools, colleges and universities in computer based studies and programmed learning. This of course is not true where adult education has the technological resources of a multi-media system and is an ancillary to a well-financed project. In 1969 the National Council for Educational Technology in the United Kingdom issued a report of an exploration into the use of computer memory and logic in education of all kinds. From it, it was possible to derive the conclusion that the applicability of the computer to anything with which we are concerned in this study as adult education is for the present small and not likely to be much extended in the foreseeable future. Its application so far has largely been in establishments for considerable concentrations of full-time students, and in subjects which are highly structured over a well-defined corpus of knowledge.

A survey of programmed instruction published by the Council of Europe in 1970 indicated that the situation was much the same in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland. Indeed, although in this type of development in other reaches of education the Federal Republic is pre-eminent, its small application to adult education has been noted by Mr. Maletski's survey *Fernsehen im Leben der Erwachsenenbildung*. This is not surprising as the materials and apparatus are scarce and costly in relation to the normal budget allotted everywhere to adult education. There may also be other difficulties. A number of both the traditional and new-style subjects of adult education do not seem to lend themselves readily to a computerised or programmed approach, and where the aim of the course is not so much the accumulation of " right answers " but a critical frame of mind, programming may be very difficult. The application of programmed learning, however, is, as we have said, much more likely in a multi-media approach availing itself of a number of educational technology developments, as in Hermods Correspondence Course in Sweden or the RTS Promotion in France.

General points on educational technology as an ancillary: It is well to bear in mind that in relation to the use of technological advances in adult education we are still in an eocene age. The greatest achievements, so far as numerical impact is concerned, are still credited to combined systems such as the German *Funkkolleg* where radio is the chief medium. It is a finding of adult educational research that people tend to learn best by methods with which they are familiar, and the vast majority of today's adults were familiarised in school with no more complicated technology than chalk and a blackboard, pen and pencil. The position will undoubtedly change when we have adult generations accustomed, as we are assured they will be, not only to cassettes, computers and mechanised programmed learning in the schools, but also to the domestic availability by telephone of a direct link-up with computer based information which will include matters of judgment and choice. For the time being, however, programmed and computer assisted learning in the context of adult education is most likely to occur in combined systems. The publication of the *Internationales Zentralinstitut für das Jugend - und Bildungsfernsehen, Multi-media Systems,* not only describes progress in linking up programmes to computer output, but also suggests that its development is likely to extend the amount of individual, heuristic learning rather than to make for a mechanised uniform type of studentship.

2. *As an agency itself in combined systems*

Mention of the above survey brings us to combined systems in which adult education as previously conceived plays a component or auxiliary role. Their growth and success has been phenomenal all over the world, and usually they make a predominant appeal to people's vocational motivation. Indeed in the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic, to quote only two examples, they have, in large measure, been explicitly dedicated to the proposition that the provision of opportunities for higher types of career should be opened out to the broad mass of people. The survey just mentioned, by the Munich Central Institute for Educational Television, takes a global look, from Japan to Brazil, in examining eleven examples. It notes as background the prevalent public drives towards their creation - social investment in education for productivity, re-deployment and re-training of the labour force etc. One point that is made by the authors of the survey stresses that a combined system has a much greater cost-effectiveness than other forms of adult education, a point of extreme importance if the scale of part-time learning for higher qualifications is to continue to grow. It might of course be dramatically increased. In the Federal Republic there is already some discussion of the possibility of paid release from work to education during ten days in the year for all workers. It has been estimated that with traditional methods this would make a call for 50 000 teachers putting in 200 hours a year.

An estimate from the United States puts the total of students who are receiving education from combined systems as higher than the total of all the young in schools and colleges full-time. In Russia nearly half of all students in higher education are having it, at least in some part, through multi-media arrangements. It is not on the grounds of comparative costs, however, that the chief case for the combined system is made, but upon the grounds of its pedagogical suitability. Career learning is basically individual and individualist. Its primary need is for a method which reinforces autodidactic procedures, and this is precisely the method of the multi-media system. It has the merits, too, of marking a complete break with the school atmosphere with its moralistic connotations and, often, its souvenirs of rejection and failure. It is flexible, adult, and free from the ethics and juvenile rituals which were concomitants of education *in statu pupillari*. It is experimental in its techniques and free from the conservatism which prevails elsewhere. The Hale Report on University Teaching Methods in 1964 noted that the lecture, or similar group-teaching method, was still quantitatively the principal mode of university teaching in the United Kingdom, and the same appears to have been true as recently as this elsewhere.

However, there can be no doubt that the most potent attraction of the combined system for the majority of students is the assistance which it offers from the career point of view. Not unnaturally this assistance is most needed by younger adults. In the Broadcast High School in Japan, 59 % of the students are teenagers and 32 % in their twenties. This may be compared with the earliest experience of the *Telekolleg* where 82 % of students were under 35 and 44 % under 25. Here there is not such emphasis upon extreme youth, and a more strongly marked element of more mature students seeking a second chance education or the improvement or up-dating of earlier qualifications. Recent figures for combined system courses in Baden Württemberg are impressive not only because of the number of students, but because they included courses of a more generally educative nature ; for example a one-year course that was taken by 12 000 parents of children in full-time education. These numbers are not, however, comparable with the number of those who look courses in introductory electronics and computerisation - numbering over 100 000.

The Telekolleg : The *Telekolleg*, commencing in 1967, and the Open University, 1971, are very well documented and they may serve as examples without much detail being given here. The *Telekolleg* is founded on a convention between the *Land* government and the broadcasting corporation. The State provides the organisation and the premises for group work and written work, and is responsible for holding the intermediate and final examinations. Courses last three years and lead to the *Mittlere Reife* qualification which is in great demand in industry and commerce. The component elements of the course are television lessons (468 in all, divided among five main and six subsidiary subjects) ; written work through a system of correspondence education ; and work in groups with a course tutor. The initial response was unexpectedly high, and there was a 10 % success rate in the first examination - again a surprisingly high rate for this type of studentship. Since then the work of the *Telekolleg* has become firmly established and has grown steadily in the intervening years. Its pioneering significance has made it the focus of study and observation from all quarters, and this has been assisted by the extremely thorough and objective research that has been undertaken at the direction of the *Telekolleg* itself. Among less expected benefits noted has been the existence of an extensive " eavesdropping " public for the television lessons among people who do not participate in the course as students but gain, in this way, enrichment for their personal development. Also noted is some shortfall from original hopes. Although there is no question that the *Telekolleg* makes education available to sections of the population which would otherwise have been excluded for social or geographical reasons, the number of skilled workers - and of semi-skilled and unskilled a fortiori - particularly in agricultural occupations, formed a smaller proportion of the student body than expected. There was also, especially at the second stage of the course, a high proportion of students who had had initial education prolonged beyond the elementary stage compulsory by law. Pertinacity throughout the course was more marked among such students. Some German adult educationists are prepared already to draw the conclusion that the *Telekolleg* cannot surmount the sociological barriers which separate adult education, on the whole, from the under-privileged. Much thought, however, is being given by *Telekolleg* workers to an alteration of methods in favour of the least initially educated type of student, including an increase in the amount of face-to-face tutoring. It must also be noted that the work of the *Telekolleg* is geared to an examination which itself may be based on cultural values that constitute a difficulty for a certain type of student. But, when all is said, few would withhold admiration for the effectiveness of an institution whose achievement can be summed up in the cold fact that in November 1969 only 3.5 % of its students who took the final examination failed to reach the standard ;

and that their grades compared very favourably with those of students in the comparable *Berufsaufbauschulen.*

The Open University: The Open University is in appearance less explicitly designed for qualifications that lead to vocational advancement, and it occupies the same rather ambiguous and equivocal position as the other British universities as repositories of academic disciplines untainted by societal or vocational considerations. Nevertheless the political rationale for its creation given by public men and women at the time of its conception and planning stressed this factor more strongly than any other, and insisted upon it in the face of much opposition from those who wished for a " university of the air " free from examinational drives. An independent university was created by Royal Charter to work in partnership with the British Broadcasting Corporation in making university education leading to degrees available to the general public at any adult age and without any previous educational certification. There is to be continuous assessment and unit credits are allowed for the successful completion of each stage of the course. (Some credits may be allowed for previous education.) It is expected that normally four or five years' study will be needed for a degree. The Open University also intends to provide " continuing education " whereby up-dating, in-post and refresher courses will be made available to keep pace with the accelerating rate of change and growth in knowledge relevant to industry and social life. The component parts of Open University courses are much the same as those of the *Telekolleg* : radio and television lessons with specially prepared books, written work submitted and marked by correspondence, and group tutorials with course tutors. In addition there is attendance at the university's summer schools at centres up and down the country.

As the university only began operations in 1971 assessment of its impact can scarcely be made. Some inferences may be drawn, however, from the recruitment which has been carefully studied and analysed. The general tenor of these is not significantly different from that emerging from *Telekolleg* experience, if allowances are made for some differences in concept and structure. Shortly before opening date some 42 000 applications for enrolment had been made. The great majority of these came from people who were adequately motivated and prepared, and the dimensions of this candidature imposed the necessity for some selection, a fact which is, strictly speaking, inconsistent with the concept of " open ". To minimise this, and to counterbalance the sort of factors which operated in the case of the *Telekolleg*, the Open University imposed certain social and occupational quotas which favoured the lowest socio-economic groups. The 1971 enrolments were however such that the quota for teachers in schools was exceeded, while those for skilled and other manual workers were not filled. The 1972 enrolments showed a move forward. Manual workers were up from 6 to 8 % of the total, while teachers had declined from 36 to 30 %. However, the median age of applicant has dropped from 26 to 23. Total applications in 1972 were fewer, at 35 182.

At this very early stage it is impossible to draw any very firm conclusions. Growing knowledge among the public of the possibility of taking degrees this way may well make a considerable difference. The future outlook is also complicated by some official enquiry into the role that the university can play in meeting the demand of school-leavers for university courses. It has already become clear that there is a very considerable eavesdropping public.

So far as adult education is concerned, it must be noted that the Open University has made much more explicit suggestions for adult education agencies to play a part thani s the case with some other combined systems. While the university has its own tutorial staff for its own courses, there is an increasing demand for threshold courses to prepare future students for the standard of university work. Moreover it will increasingly be for tutors in adult education to act as counsellors to their students about the possibilities of the Open University. It is important, however, to see the operation of the Open University in perspective before expecting too much of it either as a contributor to the education of the nation's adults or as radically affecting the work of existing adult education institutions and establishments. Its work is geared to a high level qualification, a university degree, by a hard and long road. It is pledged to university standards. It is not to be expected that its impact will be very great numerically, and the initial application number may well prove to be a high-water mark.

This of course is to say nothing of the influence of the Open University as an educational force. Already its system of credit qualification and its new inter-disciplinary faculties have aroused keen attention. It has its own chair of education from which, among others, andragogical types of development may be expected. However it may grow, and whatever difficulties it may encounter, the Open University is held by general agreement to be a bold and generous concept that is bound to affect educational provision in the United Kingdom.

Systems analysis and media taxonomy: In the phrase " combined system ", the true force of the second word is very often overlooked. Recent studies have pointed to the conclusion that one of the most important factors potentially present in a combined system is the application of a true " systems approach " to the combination of a number of media. This involves the new concept of media taxonomy - the subject of a separate study within the framework of the Council of Europe's cultural co-operation policy. What is involved in " systems analysis " is a systematic study of the educational aim and the target population, based upon initial statistics and feedback arrangements during pilot runs, with a view to producing learner-centred (tailor-made) programmes and the most effective integration of the media for a specific context. Some of the earlier combined ventures, including those of the BBC and *Teleac*, fell short of their purpose largely because a course was conceived primarily in one medium while another was brought in simply as an additive. This point was underlined at the Conference on the Application of Combined Teaching Systems organised by the *Internationales Zentralinstitut für das Jugend - und Bildungsfernsehen* in Munich in 1970, and the importance of media taxonomy was stressed.

It involves the existence of a large body of knowledge in the light of which various media and their subdivisions are catalogued along with their relevance to the range of learning situations. When the aim has been defined and the target public and its various characteristics and needs have been noted, a number of alternative arrangements - the Greek word " taxis " means the arrangement of an army for battle - present themselves, and must be judged as to their prospective effectiveness by those who have professional expertise in these matters. As the judgment involves the question of cost-effectiveness this expertise must be more than educational. For example, it is now known that individual reception of distance programmes is largely adequate for highly motivated students with more than the compulsory minimum of initial education; whereas for low-motivated, less educated students mere home-learning tends to give a high rate of non-start or of subsequent drop-out, and there is much more need for reinforcement by group-reception and tutoring.

Future roles of teacher and student: While combined systems form, of themselves, a new part of the adult education, there is naturally great speculation about the effect of the new technology as a whole upon the kinds of education which are conducted largely through classwork. How far will face-to-face contact between the teacher and a group of students tend to become an obsolete pattern? There have been futurologists who would suggest that this is likely to be the case, and even in the more balanced forecasts it is possible to find passages which tend to confirm this view. In the article already quoted, by Helmut Oeller, for example, there is a picture of tomorrow's family as a highly developed centre for the reception of electronically dispensed education and information. " We shall all be students for life relying on electronics, at home, in school and in the office for almost all our information requirements. " Similarly Mr. J.L. Jankovich in his fascinating Report on the Council of Europe Working Party on Satellites for Educational Purposes (1969), draws a picture of the initial education of the future - with which adult education will have to cohere - which would make the persistence of the teaching methods prevalent today as unlikely as the survival of the dinosaur into the twentieth century. His " classroom 90 " will provide individual consoles where the student is in dialogue with a combined system of programmed learning. A new race of custodian-technician-counsellors would probably replace the former teaching profession in the classroom.

Actual experience hitherto points to less sweeping change in the future. It would appear that group work with a tutor is coming to be increasingly regarded as a necessary ingredient of the multi-media programme, and that, without it, there is usually considerable loss of effectiveness even with clearly defined teaching objectives. Moreover, the " machines themselves " are likely to produce a process which is too narrowly concentrated to be fully educative. Mr. Oeller refers to this danger in recommending the type of *Studienprogramm* of which he writes (that of the *Telekolleg*). He stresses the need for people's social and cultural needs to be satisfied by group tutoring. Writing in *Programmierte Erwachsenenbildung*, Mr. Jüchter points to another aspect of this difficulty. While programmed learning at a distance can be a part of adult education, and a superb part, it does nothing to provide the student with opportunities for social interaction and group-life; and it is difficult to reconcile its centralised planning with the desirable trend towards the participation of students in the programming and control of their own educational processes. To these criticisms, those associated with combined systems reply that the increasing technological sophistication of the systems will soon reach a point where there is a possibility of immediate dialogue between student and the distant teacher and also between student and student. In the meantime the best guarantees for participation in democratic control are certain features of the programme planning stage where the representation of students on the planning commission has been secured and their needs identified. In most systems every effort is also made throughout courses to find student reaction by questionnaires and spot-checks.

Probably the effect of the new educational technology upon the role of the teacher will be no more than to intensify other pressures which have led teachers to a less dominant attitude in classwork. The combined systems have contributed a great deal to the process of " objectivating " the material of study in many subjects so that it can be analysed and then reconstituted into " modules " suitable for individual assimilation in a particular context or situation. So far this has largely been with those subjects, and into the sort of module, that are relevant to career-orientated learning, but the process involves motivation power and is capable of great extension. This in itself reduces the classroom work of the teacher, although he may have new duties at strategic level in arranging the modules, or as a guide and tutor. As a teacher, in the old sense, his function is changed, not to say diminished. Yet this has validity only for the teacher as the fount or vehicle of information. In his new role, freed from this burden of the transmission of information, he is in a far better position to make a specifically educative contribution though creative human contacts and the promotion of critical insights into the subject and the learning process.

10

NEW PUBLIC AND GOVERNMENTAL ATTITUDES

A. *General considerations*

It would be impossible to omit from any summary of recent developments in adult education some account of a number of substantial indications of an awakened or reorientated interest in it on the part of central and local governments, or responsible and influential sections of public opinion. This new interest has made itself manifest in a variety of ways, ranging from formal expression in the resolutions of important bodies unconnected with adult education itself (housing or forestry commissions, for example), to articles in the press or the weighty writings of eminent publicists. There are, too, the reports of committees and working parties specially set up by governments or independent organisations of repute. In some countries this interest has found concrete expression in administrative changes related to adult education or even new legislative measures. Before quoting a few examples it may be useful to make several general observations.

A revision of public attitudes seems most striking where it has come as a part of a general reconsideration of the overall educational policy and system of a particular country. Such has been the case in France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Sweden, Norway and, in an administrative sense, the Netherlands. This is a different approach from the turning of a spotlight upon adult education itself as a separate entity, complementary to the main system of schools, colleges and universities, which may or may not be also under review as a distinct set of institutions. An example of the latter approach is to be found in the United Kingdom, where in England and Scotland governmental enquiries have been in operation for some time into the non-vocational educational scene.

A second consideration concerns the nature of the previous - and in most cases the existing - legislative basis for adult education. In many instances this proves on investigation to be surprisingly complicated and potentially insecure. Not infrequently adult education rests on a number of separate laws and is the responsibility of more than one government department. In the United Kingdom, adult education as we have defined it for the purposes of this study would seem to have a monolithic basis and structure in so far as it is provided under the Education Act of 1944 and is the concern of the Department of Education and Science. In fact the traditions, procedures and priorities of separate branches within that department often obscure any unity which might be suggested by the legislation, and in practice in the field there are marked distinctions drawn between various types of education for adults. Again - and this is a feature of legislation in most of our countries - there is no State monopoly or control of adult education. Control by government naturally comes when public money is granted to an organisation, but, apart from this, any agency or individual is free to set up as a teacher of their or his fellow-citizens for ideological or commercial purposes. This may be a desirable feature of a free society but it contrasts with the firm regulations which govern the establishment of private schools for children. To quote another example, Denmark: adult education is provided under a number of laws, mainly, of course, under the 1968 Act on Leisure Time Education with its 1971 amendments, but also acts relating to folk high schools, continuation schools, agricultural schools, schools of domestic science and so on. The overriding act places an obligation on local governments to provide adult education facilities wherever voluntary initiatives have proved inadequate - a permissive feature of legislation to which we will return. As well as being complex the type of legislative basis to which we are referring is often out of harmony with the concept of adult education as the education of adults for any purpose, and not merely as the old style non-vocational cultural additive. Further light, it is hoped, will be thrown upon the present legislative position in Europe by a conference to be organised by the Danish Government in January 1972 where experts will try to lay the foundations for classification and evaluation.

Thirdly, it must be noted that public or influential independent statements of educational policy and aspiration about the future role and importance of adult education have not in the past necessarily led to speedy reform or increased resources for the creation of the infrastructures essential for the translation of policy into practice. It is to be recalled that at the height of his power in the United Kingdom, Winston Churchill paid governmental tribute to the social value and importance of adult education, but no change in its structure, no fresh access of resources followed. The fundamental reason is, of course, the order of priority of claims on public support and finance which is prevalent and which is slow to change whatever idealistic statement is made, whatever new policy is announced. Adult education continues to be founded on permissive legislation which states a principle, asserts an ideal, issues an exhortation, but in imprecise terms which leave a very great deal of latitude to the providing authorities in the extent to which they translate the principle into reality by financial support. The ever increasing demands made upon public resources by the initial education of young people remain unchallengeably prime in public opinion. Indeed, in some cases, even where there is new, comprehensive and firmer legislation, and finance appears to be more freely forthcoming for the education of adults, the situation may not be so strikingly improved. The new interest of government may have selected certain segments of the broad spectrum of adult education for its support, and powerful elements in society (the interests of industry or trade unions, for example) may ensure that new legislation channels resources mainly into the education of adults for purposes relevant to productivity and the labour market.

B. *A right to education for adults*

While the duty to provide adult education has tended to remain open to interpretation by the responsible authorities, it has accordingly come to the adult recipient as a form of activity to which his legal entitlement is vague and imprecise. He must assert a claim to it, and it is within the power of the authorities to decide in what measure, if at all, they respond. Most authorities would approve in principle - indeed applaud - the request of a sixty-five year old woman in a remote village who wished to learn archaeology or trade union law, but there is no legal compulsion upon them to make the necessary arrangements. This contrasts strongly with national legislation everywhere which confers a right to schooling of various kinds and, within certain limits, to higher education, upon the young, or their parents on their behalf. Automatically this places a precise and unequivocal duty upon the authorities to make the appropriate provision. As we shall mention in connection with Norway and the suggestions put forward in Baden Württemberg, a new note has been sounded about the rights of adults to education. The duty of authorities in this respect is firmly stated by the 1970 Report on Education of the German Federal Government. However, it is well to remember the warning given by Mr. B. Schwartz in one of his contributions to the permanent education documentation of the Committee for Out-of-School Education and Cultural Development. If a right to adult education is to be really meaningful it must be accompanied by a vigorous programme of publicity and stimulation towards the exercise of that right.

C. *The financial brake on new attitudes*

If there is still to be a time-lag between responsible public attitudes and policy and actual improvement in the quality and availability of adult education, it is likely to be attributable to a new feature in the fiscal lives of many of our countries. The mass of workers in our comparatively affluent democracies are becoming increasingly conscious of their own personal contribution in taxation to the costs of welfare and education, and they are less habituated and more resistant to this than the middle classes who were formerly the chief contributors. This has an important bearing on the educational programmes of the political parties, for the costs of education have risen sharply. In 1968 they constituted 6 % of the gross national product in the United Kingdom and 7 % in the Netherlands. Elsewhere higher percentages could be quoted. The tolerance of our democratic societies for this level of expenditure - which to the uninformed mind appears to bring no visible or appreciable return - must be a matter of conjecture, although it will undoubtedly vary according to national tradition. There is, however, the disquieting probability that public opinion will tend to support drawing a distinction between various types of education and allocating priorities as between those which clearly pay a material " dividend " and those which are " recreational ". However we may question the wisdom - even the economic wisdom - of such a distinction, we must in any survey of developments note an increasing interest in adult educational circles in ways of providing finance which make it independent of the public purse, or reduce its dependence thereon.

After these preliminary observations we can cite as examples the development of policy, legislation and new public attitudes in two or three leading countries.

D. *Scandinavian developments*

The current Swedish Planning Commission for Post-secondary Education is undertaking its work in the light of the well-known Report U. 68 which represents the ideas presented by the Swedish Minister of Education at the Versailles Conference of European Ministers of Education in 1969. These ideas covered the entire field of national education and stated long-term policies as well as certain more immediate intentions and measures. Stress was placed upon the ideal of social justice through the fullest possible equalisation of opportunity, and also upon the need to make the fullest possible use of resources of ability and manpower. One arresting feature of the report is the determination it expresses to scrutinise with increasing reserve further expansion of the field of initial education for the young. Over-concentration on this could starve the labour market by a further prolongation of schooling and would widen the generation gap; moreover it would be counter-productive for social equality by loading the dice in favour of those young pupils and students who had the ability to come soonest to academic specialisation or clear career objectives. It would estrange students from workers, making two castes segregated from each other at an early age. The report dwells on the extent to which initial education is provided in a school and college atmosphere where there is a competitive scramble for marks and other badges of excellence; not the best foundation for life as a responsible, co-operative and compassionate member of society.

The developments envisaged in Sweden are to include an accelerating move towards comprehensive secondary education built around a common curriculum without divisive " streaming " and moving at a less competitive pace. This is to lead towards a higher education which will increasingly become composed of alternative " sandwich " layers of studentship and working for a living, with a cumulative credit system of achieving qualifications. For adults a system of opportunities for study at any age will be developed, with increased financial resources made available to cover part of the cost so that no hardship is involved. These financial resources will be chargeable to an extension of the welfare services. From 1969 all those aged over 25 who have had five years' experience of work may be admitted to universities even though they lack those certificates which are normally gained through prolonged secondary education. It is assumed that as secondary education is " softened " from its previous rigorous demands for competitively high standards in encyclopaedic knowledge there will be a corresponding increase in the desire for education in adult life.

It may be added that figures which are often quoted for the rate of participation in adult education suggest that Sweden has the highest in Europe at present.

In Norway, where until 1965 adult education did not include vocational studies and had relatively little State support, an epoch-making decision was taken in 1964 by *Stortings-proposjon* No. 92. A comprehensive system of education for adults was announced which, with adequate State financial support, would continue the work of schools and colleges in a unified general and vocational education. Through adult education the doors are now open for adults to qualifications like *Abitur* and *Mittlere Reife*. This measure also emphasised the need for pedagogical research into adult learning, and for the creation of suitable premises and equipment for the new tasks facing it. In the governmental structure for education a new department was set up to concern itself with adult education and popular enlightenment. To advise it a council was created where the voluntary organisations for adult education and the trade unions were represented.

Since that date, and within that framework, there has been much further study of the problems of adult education in Norway, including the work of the Royal Commission of 1966-68 on post-secondary education. In particular this report noted the increasing need for retraining and redeployment of the labour force, and the need for social welfare and educational systems to make a constructive response to human problems created by mobility and obsolescence. It also underlined the greater receptivity for, and motivation towards, learning among adults as compared with children and suggested the benefits that could be reaped by cultivating this rich soil, rather than the more refractory soil of infancy. The commission recommended the establishment of district colleges, which we have already referred to: institutions to cater each for some two to four thousand students, and undertaking work parallel to much of the work of universities.

What is envisaged in Norway is the replacement of partial and unco-ordinated attempts at adult education by a centrally initiated major national effort which will focus the work of agencies that have previously been working haphazardly and in isolation from each other. Parallel with this is the intention to ensure that pre-work education shall be structured to cohere in its texture and its goals with post-school provision. This work of harmonisation is to be undertaken by panels of experts drawn from schools, colleges and adult education who will examine each subject and aspect of education from a " life-long " point of view. Access to post-school education is not to be limited to those who possess certain certificates. The individual citizen's wish, properly substantiated as serious, will be the determining factor. Indeed, as we have indicated, in Norway there is a statement of a right to education on the part of adults - a right underpinned to some extent by the right to grants of money, paid leave and other support. Indeed there has in Norway been some discussion of the possibility of making adult education compulsory, but this idea has not been seriously entertained. In Norway, too, the extra cost of new opportunities in adult education is seen as falling naturally to an extension of social security taxation.

Danish adult education has long been admired as having blazed a trail for the rest of the world, but, in a sense, the fact there has been a new Leisure Education Law is an indication that even the most enlightened examples of traditional adult education need revision in the light of recent social developments. It is significant that the new law abolishes the previous distinction between adult instruction (*Unterricht* in the available German version) and the work of recreational groups (*Hobbybetonte Tätigkeit*). It is also notable that the payment of fees by students is introduced now for both types of course. However, there is to be much greater financial support for the promotion of the former, and standards of work there are to be made more rigorous. The new act places a firm duty on the State to provide as comprehensively as possible for all those over school-leaving age. Although it is clear that the State is to take a much larger hand, the administration of adult education is to be left for the most part to voluntary organisations as in the past.

E. *The Netherlands*

Here there is a strong tradition of voluntaryism, rather than of direct State provision, but it depends for its effectiveness upon sympathetic government assistance in a country where there is more than usual effort to maintain a true dialogue with opposition and protest. Voluntary organisations are assisted by municipalities and the State, and an increasing part of their work is educational assistance to action groups.

A few years ago ministerial responsibility for adult education was altered in a way that excited a good deal of interest abroad. It was removed from the Ministry of Education where, associated with the great structures of initial education, it occupied, as in other of our countries, a somewhat marginal place. Under the new dispensation, adult education, along with other elements which had been rather peripheral to the main educational provision in schools, colleges and universities, such as youth work, libraries, museums and art galleries and broadcasting, was transferred to a new Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Welfare, which continued the care for social welfare of a previous ministry.

This step was widely acclaimed, and it undoubtedly marks a real advance in the conception of adult education as needing its own ministerial setting where it is given more than tangential concern. With the passage of time, however, there have come from the Netherlands some expressions of disappointment that, even in the new ministry, adult education is not as central an element as it should be, and is somewhat overshadowed by other interests. Some disquiet is also expressed that the separation of adult education from the education of the young at policy-making level is inconsistent with the philosophy of permanent education which is increasingly that of Dutch educationists.

Nevertheless, the ministerial rearrangement and the subsequent debate mark new public attitudes to adult education and have brought it more to the forefront of public awareness.

F. *The Federal Republic of Germany*

Before we examine the way in which adult education is being located in the Federal policy for all education, it is interesting to consider a " think-piece " from Baden Württemberg. This is the widely acclaimed *Gesamptplan für ein kooperatives System der Erwaschsenenbildung*. This document explicitly takes account of the philosophy of permanent education, and sees adult education as part of an on-going system designed to help man to avoid being the plaything of forces which he cannot understand - especially in a world of high tempo social and technical change. It takes as a starting point the proposition that in this *Land* there shall be a citizen right to education - a right not confined to the young. It is pledged to the ideal of the fullest possible measure of equality of educational opportunity. Part of the strategy of a move towards this equality is the abolition of the old unreal and restrictive distinction between an education that is humane or liberal and one which is mechanical and vocational.

The *Gesamtplan* is based on the assumption that adult education is a necessary component of the infrastructure of an advanced industrial society, where agriculture is a sophisticated industry; a society, too, where greatly increased productivity means the availability of far greater resources for reinvestment in the education of adults for career and cultural purposes, in a comprehensive fashion. The existing provision of adult education, with its reliance upon voluntary organisations like the *Volkshochschule* and confessional bodies, does excellent work with little encouragement, but it is inadequate for the needs of today. The whole field must become the lively concern of the State and local governments. They will take the initiative in setting up institutional machinery to survey and identify the adult educational needs of each geographical area and each industrial aspect of national life. They will ensure the co-ordination of the work of existing agencies for adult education and the creation of such others as shall be necessary. This may include the participation of technical education establishments and the training departments of business firms. The old and proven voluntary organisations will not be diminished in their work but reinforced with powerful allies and additional resources. Special grants will be available for specific tasks.

According to the *Gesamtplan* (and it is important, of course, to recall its purely theoretical nature) adult education will be the charge of a central *Kuratorium* composed of a number of Ministries such as Education, Agriculture, Economic Development and Social Welfare -all those concerned with the physical and spiritual condition of the people in situations where education can bring about improvement. While there is to be no withdrawal from the deep concern of adult education with moral, social and cultural values, it must now be fully concerned also with the problems of economic growth and must more and more be institutionally involved in the processes of productivity. This new comprehensive adult education must have high claims on public finance and on the use of buildings and equipment, including those which have hitherto been exclusively at the disposal of the young in schools and colleges.

Adult education can be seen as vital to society in three of its aspects: the private aspect, in which it is sought for its contribution in matters of health, family, domestic life and culture in the widest sense (music, literature, religion, the arts and crafts); secondly, the vocational aspect which covers the whole realm of gainful work, career advancement and increased efficiency and productivity; and, lastly, the public aspect which concerns education for the responsibilities and problems of citizenship politically and economically. There are special sections of the plan devoted to adult education for rural areas and the place of public libraries in the education of adults.

Two points in this remarkable document may profitably be singled out here because they may escape notice as they occur only incidentally to other themes. The first is the assertion that while adult education in the past has done great things by offering second chance education - a *Zweiter Bildungsweg* towards university and intermediate qualifications - the social tasks now facing it are far too vast for it to be diverted to these extraneous goals. Adult education should have its own system of recognised qualifications which should be accepted as valid everywhere. Secondly comes the statement that the gulf between *Bildung* (general cultivation) and *Ausbildung* (education in academic or technical subjects in the examinable sense) will only be satisfactorily bridged if the former, including speech and writing and political and cultural education, is made an examinable, certificate-earning part of a new adult education diploma.

Turning now from the realms of suggestion to official statements of policy, it is to be recalled that in June 1970 the new Federal *Ministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft* issued *Bericht* 70, a statement of policy for the ensuing years introduced by inspiring words from the Chancellor. The Minister in his foreword outlines a progressive move by *Bund* and *Länder* towards a reform which will guarantee to each citizen his right to learning. There is a separate section on *Weiterbildung* (further or continued education), a term which includes adult education (*Erwachsenenbildung*) and, perhaps, replaces it, for the latter term, so far as rapid reading by a foreigner reveals, does not occur in the report. *Weiterbildung* means a comprehensive education open to all adults to help them in both their personal and their vocational circumstances and aspirations. Vocational education is a genuinely humane education which must take account of the social circumstances and relationships surrounding work, and thus is largely an education of the personality. The distinction between vocational and non-vocational becomes unreal in the Hegelian sense of irrational. It is the clear intention of the report that the duty to provide adult education, by whatever name it is to be known, shall be grasped by the authorities and discharged as a matter of real importance.

G. *France: educational leave*

If we turn from statements of public policy and consider developments in the actual opportunities for adult education available to people we are brought to the topic of educational leave or " release from work to education ". It has long been one of the greatest handicaps under which adults undertake part-time study, that it must be an additional burden upon them after the completion of their day's work. Moreover, any academic worker who has had the experience of a week's factory or field labour will realise the condition of hebetude which prevails each evening and must be conquered by sheer will-power if anything is to be learned. The men and women who have done so have been the minority, and their success has masked the case of many thousands who have had to abandon the attempt, overwhelmed by a multitude of discouraging circumstances. Even fifty years ago there were the beginnings of an attempt to remedy this injustice. The idea of paid release from work for study - educational leave - was heralded by the Astier Act in France, the Fisher Act in England, and some provisions of the Weimar Constitution in the Federal Republic. The impact of these moves was, however, slight and tended to diminish with the passage of time and growing economic difficulties in the countries concerned.

The sharper conception of social justice which has emerged in all our countries since the end of the second world war and the greatly increased productivity of industry have revived interest in educational leave, and it is probably true to say that in most countries there are some facilities for it founded either upon statute or collective bargaining between employers and trade unions. Nothing, however, has been comparable in scale with the striking measure announced in France as the National Agreement of July 1970. This concordat between the French Federation of Employers and the Confederation of Trade Unions makes educational leave available to all workers within a framework guaranteed by the State. It has now been incorporated in the *Loi du* 16 *juillet* 1971 *d'orientation sur l'Enseignement Technologique*. This law is in itself a statement of policy and philosophy concerning a great part of the education of adults. It contains the following passage in the preamble:

" L'éducation permanente constitue une obligation nationale. Elle a pour objet d'assurer à toutes les époques de la vie, la formation et le développement de l'homme, de lui permettre d'acquérir les connaissances et l'ensemble des aptitudes intellectuelles ou manuelles qui concourent a son épanouissement comme au progrès culturel, économique et social. "

Under *Titre* III the law states:

" Tout au long de leur vie active les travailleurs salariés ... qui désirent effectuer des stages de formation... ont droit, sur demande addressée à leurs employeurs, à un congé. "

These principles embodied in a statute are bound to have an effect in Europe as a whole. There is, however, persistent work in this respect in a number of our countries, and the position has been summarised in the 1969 Council of Europe publication *Educational Leave* by Crummenerl and Dermine. Its sub-title is a sufficient indication of the type of thinking which surrounds these efforts: " A key factor of permanent education and social advancement ".

Progress has not been parallel everywhere, and, as has already been suggested, a right under an agreement or a statute does not necessarily put the worker in the practical position of being able to exercise it in face of discouragement from home or factory. Sometimes the right to educational leave either explicitly or in practice favours only those workers who seek forms of education which will benefit the employer on the worker's return. In some cases too there is little scope for any prolonged period of full-time study, merely for " day-release ". The financial arrangements which surround leave vary a good deal and it is not everywhere that a worker can take educational leave without some loss of income. Again, almost nowhere has any account been taken of the educational needs and aspirations of many millions of women who, as housewives tied to a routine of daily domestic work, are not covered by any of the arrangements so far envisaged.

Nevertheless, the principle is now well established and the practice is bound to grow in volume if only because of the international links of the trade union movement. At the OECD Conference of July 1970 in Copenhagen it became plain that the general principle is accepted and that future developments will need not to gain acceptance for the concept of educational leave, but to find a satisfactory formula for the apportionment of costs between the State, the employer and the worker through his union. The Council of Europe held a Round Table on Educational Leave in October 1970 and it recommended that the Committee of Ministers should establish a working party composed of representatives of the State, employers and unions to study this problem in the context of permanent education.

H. *The finance of adult education ; some " realistic " proposals*

Just as with educational leave, so with adult education as a whole ; financial responsibility is the still unsettled issue which underlies many of the obstacles to broad front progress. In some, at least, of our countries it is the subject of open and bitter debate. On the one hand, there are those who take what they describe as a " realistic " point of view, to the effect that, in practice, those in our affluent societies who increasingly come to adult education are not drawn from poor and needy sections of the populace but enjoy fully the benefits of increased productivity, and are well able - indeed very willing - to pay a substantial proportion of the costs of their education. There is no reason why they should not be called upon to do so, particularly where their subject of study is of advantage mainly to themselves and has no bearing on the national productivity level or other aspects of social well-being. To keep the fees for adult education low because in the past it was intended largely for the " under-dog " is an obsolete attitude which results in a penurious, starveling environment and type of provision for adult courses which is quite out of keeping with the wants and tastes of those who come to these courses today, for whom low standards of teaching or comfort act as a disincentive. The example is often quoted, by upholders of this point of view, of the *Migros Klubschulen* in Switzerland where high standards result when some two thirds of the costs are borne by the students themselves. In this way adult education goes forward in a technically sophisticated manner, in an environment suitable to the tastes of prosperous and well-educated men and women. It should be added that there are some realists who push their point of view as far as to assert that adult education, in any form dealt with in this study, is mainly a feature of middle class life patterns; and that for the decreasing proportion of our societies living in lower socio-economic strata a different kind of provision, of a level subliminal to adult education, must be made, say, in community centres, with heavy support from the State. For those few individuals who deviate from this pattern and seek adult education from a position of economic hardship, there should be special grants and bursaries, so that no one is excluded by sheer inability to pay a fee.

A somewhat more moderate expression of these " realist " views asserts that we must face the fact that adult education is grossly under-financed, and that its quality, and therefore its appeal and public esteem, suffer as a consequence; all of which provides a reason for further niggardliness in State support. Thus a vicious circle has been established. It is unlikely that a break-out can be made by securing extra public support in view of the mounting costs of initial education. The only hope is to look to the students themselves to make a much larger contribution to their own education than that to which they have long been accustomed, while at the same time doing everything possible to keep costs within a range acceptable to all except those for whom hardship grants would be necessary. The form which student contributions might take need not be so brutal as to constitute a deterrent. There should be a wide extension of the principle of loans to students for the more sustained and substantial types of course. The idea of such loans has long been acceptable in the Scandinavian countries where both adult education and social equality are highly prized.

Much could be done by exploring the possibility of having a more flexible arrangement for fees to be paid by the student, so that it could be in the discretion of the director or principal to allot a fee to individual courses according to their value to society, the socio-economic composition of the group, the attractiveness of the subject and such other considerations as an educationist might wish to take into account bearing in mind the needs of the area. Thus richer members of the community might help those less well placed. For example, a course in " stock market operations " or " antique silver ", both likely to be attractive only to those with some surplus money, could carry a high fee, and some of the profit made on the course could help to pay for courses in basic education, or in the home language for migrant workers. Alternatively people could form their own adult education syndicates for working out the appropriate student contribution to the costs of each course.

It is also suggested that it should be possible to finance adult education by lotteries or football pools, in the way that was proposed in Manchester for financing a large-scale programme for the arts. In Leeds there has actually come into operation a scheme whereby purchase of a " cultural card " gives the holder entitlement to a wide range of cultural activities including adult education: and some of these, such as " pop " concerts, are of very broad appeal. Heavy sale of the cards will support the costs of less attractive manifestations such as adult education courses.

In the view of those who favour any of the foregoing procedures it is necessary to come to terms with the hard facts of the modern financial situation. As long as it is almost entirely dependent on public finance, adult education will remain blighted by poverty, compelled to justify itself in terms of student numbers in any given course or establishment, and therefore unable to respond to individual or small minority needs, and, worse, unable to insist on a high standard of work among the students for fear that such insistence might militate against popularity. There can never be sufficient resources for the appointment of enough full-time staff, and the services of part-time workers will be too ill paid to attract teachers of good quality who are willing to take some training for their work with adults. Financial starvation is the basic reason why a great deal of the work in adult education is pervaded by an atmosphere of amateurism, of mere diversion, cultural chit-chat and therapeutic sociability. These things might be excellent if they were by-products of the serious and progressive mastery of a subject or skill by the students, but they are deplorable when they are the main achievements of a course. If they are sincere most tutors agree that, except where the vocational relevance of the work is very clear, the course with a substantial nucleus of students who are working purposefully and progressively is much less common in adult education than in the colleges and universities.

Such are the views of the " realists ". They may well be in harmony with a general trend in education of all kinds. At the 1970 OECD Conference on Educational Policies, Professor Vaizey, speaking on costs and finance, drew attention to the " increasing privatisation of education in a number of countries " - a hiving off of public responsibility on to private provision on a commercial basis, or the private contribution of the citizen to public financing in the form of fees. He referred to this as a defence mechanism against rising costs. In the Netherlands substantial charges have been introduced for the use of public libraries. There is a similar proposal for museums and art galleries in the United Kingdom, and in that country, and more relevant to the education of adults, the Department of Education and Science has issued a circular to all authorities (Circular No. 4/71) which states that at present the tuition fees charged to students in further education represent about 6 % of the costs; and that there should be a move towards a position in the near future where student fees cover about 20 % of the costs. Lest these moves be taken as evidence of a particular political ideology, it should be noted that in the workers' universities in Yugoslavia a substantial portion of the costs is covered by student fees which are quite a considerable item in the budget of a working man.

I. *Controversy*

The foregoing points of view have been stated at some length because they represent a trend of the past few years, but it cannot be said that they have prevailed, and it is not difficult to see why they have aroused the most vigorous opposition from those who believe that education should be the right of any citizen of any age, who should accordingly have free access to it. If any fee at all is charged it should be kept to a minimum and used as some kind of guarantee of seriousness of purpose rather than as a basis for financing the class. Talk of the " age of affluence " is cruel nonsense in relation to the substantial sections of the populace in most of our societies who find increasingly that they have to exercise the utmost thrift; this includes many of those who have recently come to be classified as " middle-class " and the majority of younger professional workers at the foot of salary scales who are married with small children. Increased fees would mean for them a real deterrent from adult education. Moreover many industrial workers who are now comparatively well-off financially have inherited attitudes to private educational expenditure which would impel them to reject it, and these are the very people for whom, at this juncture in their lives, adult education can do most to help them as persons and citizens. Hardship clauses in regulations to grant bursaries or loans involve a humiliating process of application and investigation which will seldom be invoked. The practice of charging differential fees for differently composed classes, robbing Peter to pay Paul, is a piece of ignoble chicanery inconsistent with the high purposes of adult education and bound to lead to a " first and second class compartment " distinction. It opens the door to all manner of further discrimination to the disadvantage of the least favoured sections of the community. It is to be presumed that the education of our fellow-citizens is at least as important a business as their defence or security, and no one suggests that the army or the police should be financed out of lotteries or the sale of a card giving entry to discotheques and concerts.

It is true that, at present, adult education is under-financed, but the responsibility for this must be placed squarely upon governments. If there are some signs of low standards and amateurism in parts of adult education, these might well be expected to be present in greater measure among part-time students than among full-time students in colleges and universities who are mostly young, selected for ability and driven by a strong vocational motive. The " low standards " are in any case natural concomitants of a process in which people, tired from a day's work, have to be wooed to interest and study at a tactfully slow tempo, and in which social inter-action is not a by-product but one of the central aims of the work. The truly realistic answer to the problems of under-financing is to face them squarely and to awaken the public conscience to them. Sufficient statements of governmental policy have been made to encourage the hope that they will be translated into reality by additional finance, and in certain countries this is already happening.

J. *A conjectural outlook*

The issue remains unresolved. At the Council of Europe conference on this theme at Rüschlikon there was wide variety of opinion and both majority and minority recommendations had to be recorded. This conference did however give wider publicity to a concept introduced there from Italy - the idea of " cultural accountancy " whereby skilled experts in cultural statistics should be able to quantify the output of education and also the social returns to society on its investment. This line of thought has much in common with the concept of Mr. Edgar Faure, " the negative costs of education ". The idea is promising but so far no convincing sets of actual statistics have been made available to present to governments as a cogent reason for adequate expenditure on adult education. Where adult education is concerned with increased productivity the general argument may well be of greater attraction to public opinion. In his study on *The organisation and financing of post-work education*, Mr. Kjell Eide, with Norway as a background, writes of this type of education as consisting in " the up-dating of previously acquired knowledge ", and while he includes knowledge in all fields, general, domestic and leisure as well as vocational, his argument seems to rest strongest on the last when he works out a rationale for increased expenditure on recurrent education in terms of in-put and out-put. Even on these grounds, however, it is difficult to draw up a statement of accounts which would carry conviction to an accountant. The Danish National UNESCO Commission which conducted a seminar on the relationship between adult education and economic growth came to the conclusion that there was no firm evidence that Danish economic growth had been aided by adult education.

Meanwhile the costs to the public purse of adult education continue to mount everywhere. An example from one *Land* in the Federal Republic is a sufficient index:

Land subvention to adult education

1957	DM	509 000
1968	DM	2 252 500
1969	DM	2 755 000
1970	DM	4 087 000

These figures do not show an even greater increase from the subventions of local governments. The trend may not be as sharp everywhere as this example indicates, and relative figures are difficult to obtain because of national differences about what sorts of courses are categorised as adult education. Nevertheless its costs to the public have everywhere shown a marked increase. Professor Taylor's very responsible study for the European Ministers of Education has placed adult education in the setting of all post-secondary education, and he has estimated that the necessary increase of expenditure on this, if the social demands are to be adequately met, must be somewhere between 10 and 20 %. Experience, he says, has clearly shown that an increase of only 3 % is feasible in the sense of being politically acceptable. Traditional adult education, as a part of this post-secondary education, and not the most privileged or highly esteemed part, will share fully in the uncomfortable consequences of this disquieting gap. Obviously there will be closer scrutiny of expenditure even on the present scale and less sympathy for wastage and drop-out, and for work which is not deemed to be " serious ". There will be more insistence that staff and premises earn their keep by full usage, and no doubt increasing interest on the part of governments in contributions in the form of fees from students, perhaps with the aid of loans and educational insurance schemes. If there were any intensification of current economic difficulties in some of our countries, certain of the suggestions of the " realists " might be adopted on tactical, interim grounds without prejudice to a long-term intention to move towards a freely exercised right to adult education.

K. *General*

It would equally be a mistake either to expect too little from new governmental attitudes to adult education or to take them as heralding the dawn of a new and better epoch. It seems clear that the interest of governments, like that of business firms, will be selective in its scope. For those who are concerned with the education of adults a good deal of confusion, not to say self-deception, has always arisen from the very concept " adult education " with its connotation of some transcendental indivisible entity. In fact, and in practice, " adult education " is a pragmatically constituted category into which, in any given society, quite separable elements may, for administrative convenience, be placed. The fact that in some countries this category has in the past come to be associated with noble and generous movements and ideas does not give it any greater reality. (The same observation of course applies to primary or secondary education.) Thus in the historical world it is quite possible that benefits can accrue to some of the contents of the box or category " adult education " without any effect upon the others. Without making any attempt at a serious typology, and allowing for a certain amount of imbrication, it is possible to distinguish four types of course that can be found in the adult education box in most of our countries:

(*a*) courses in established academic subjects and their derivatives - some of them of relevance to the exercise of responsible citizenship;

(*b*) courses, largely in practical skills, which assist people in the pursuit of their personal, domestic and leisure life, and in their search for creativity;

(*c*) courses which are designed to raise the level of life in depressed areas or disadvantaged communities;

(*d*) courses which help people to improve their vocational position by qualification or new skill and which contribute to national efficiency and productivity.

An open-eyed survey of recently announced policies and of new public attitudes might well lead to the conclusion that not all these types of course are intended to be equal beneficiaries of the new dispensation.

11

CROSS CURRENTS

In this chapter, consideration will be given to a number of factors which are operating on the present scene in adult education, some of a traditional type, some representing a new trend. They form as it were cross currents, and it is not easy to see the direction of the resultant flow. Their incoherence reflects the pluralistic values that obtain in Western European societies. The fact that they are not susceptible of more schematic treatment does not detract from their force.

A. *Cultural missionarism*

Previously in this study we have referred to the more traditional dynamics of adult education as being associated with a social scene that has largely passed away, and in so doing have done scant justice to the enduring strength of what we may call " cultural missionarism ", which from the first beginnings of adult education has been a compelling motive for many of its most successful and distinguished teachers. It remains a potent and vital force today in spite of the strident voices that are raised on behalf of *déculture* or counter-culture or *culture vécue*. When all is said and done, an anarchical attitude to traditional culture, the heritage of the past and its contemporary development, or a rejection of it as elitist and irrelevant to the mass-patterns of communication and expression today, is not very widespread even in intellectual circles, and the broad mass of people are far from adopting any such position ; they tend to welcome a " pop " culture which offers a pre-digested and easily assimilable version of the traditional. Experience indicates that if they can be brought to make the effort, the mass of people can be shown, through adult education, that deeper satisfaction results from more " difficult " experiences. At any rate, there is a persistent quiet faith among many teachers of adults in the immutable value of great literature, great music, the masterpieces of the arts and, in a like manner, in the grand sweep of certain scientific or metaphysical syntheses of the universe. Such teachers believe, too, in the value to ordinary people of some insight into the nature of that inspiration or scholarship which have cast light upon man and his world.

To extend participation in the seach for beauty and truth, and appreciation of them, is in the view of many tutors the finest task which adult education can undertake, and one which will endure when currently fashionable interests in catering for social mobility by teaching the expertise of affluent living, or in commitment to active citizenship, have proved their inadequacy as an answer to the aspirations of very many people. Adult education has a proud record in this respect, and many thousands of people owe to it an acquaintance with culture and scholarship which has transformed their lives. This record rests upon the never-failing and generous wish of tutors to share the excitement of their own experience and discovery, a zest which makes for memorable and effective teaching that transcends any adherence to a particular method of work. The achievements of courses of this kind are, today, too little noted : indeed this work of personal animation involves a dedicated pastoral care for students which is unlikely to find publicity, and certainly does not seek it ; and it involves few of the techniques which attract the attention either of research or of the mass media. Moreover it can record only moderate numerical progress. The numbers of people who have been sensitised to culture and the pursuit of truth, as contrasted with physical and acquisitive satisfactions, have been small in any social class in our societies, observably so among the wealthy reaches of the middle class and aristocracy. It is not to be supposed that the diffusion of some degree of prosperity among the old working class will necessarily have the side effect of predisposing the people to culture. It will, however, remove barriers that have kept those who become so predisposed from following their inclinations.

There is some sign of a growing response to work of this kind. A survey by the National Institute of Adult Education in the United Kingdom, *Emergent Patterns in Adult Education*, indicates some shift of mass interest from the practical skills of hobby and domestic interest towards literature and other courses that are cultural in the narrower sense. It must also be remembered that there is a strong genuine element of aesthetic refinement in much adult learning which can too readily be ascribed to social ambition or snob interests. There has been a great expansion in the numbers of courses everywhere for such pursuits as floral arrangement, pottery, painting, music-making, sculpture and woodcarving and the resuscitation of folk crafts and dances. Cultural education is not confined to mental and verbal processes. There is a discipline in sincere and sustained work with stone or clay or wood or cloth or leather which can bring insights into *correspondances* - to use an old symbolist word - with much in human experience in other fields. It is something which can bring an incommunicable feel for the medium, a sense of how to go with, and not against, the grain of life. Nor is the element of intellectual development lacking in this practical learning. Through it the student can come, in a concrete way, to a capacity for critical judgment of a really scholarly kind helped by the tangible presence of proof of misconception or error. As J.A. Rony has said " La main est l'organe de l'esprit critique. Oublier qu'on a des mains, c'est le premier pas vers la thaumaturgie. " In such work, also, and in music making and dance and much of physical culture the student experiences the value of what anthropologists have called a *dromenon*, by which they mean a pattern of structured, creative, ordered response to disorder of instinct, the chaos of biology and the entropy of the universe.

B. *Residential adult education*

All that is covered by " cultural missionarism " and indeed the enlargement of an aesthetic dimension of life by practical skills can tend to be overshadowed by the great accessions to education brought about by *Verschulung* in association with combined systems. In his inaugural lecture at the University of Liverpool, Professor Kelly suggested that culture could best be safeguarded as part of a comprehensive type of university extra-mural provision, and guaranteed sufficient attention amidst the pressure for other types of work by adult education.

These pressures and their effect are illustrated by the development of residential centres for adult education. There was a great and promising development of these immediately after the second world war, but since then the movement seems to have lost much of its impetus. Lately there has been some questioning of the propositions on which the movement was founded. These included the central idea that adults should have the opportunity of that experience of a civilised and studious environment and of sustained contact with those of a like mind and set of interests which play so strong a part in the education of young people at universities and colleges. It was assumed that, benefiting from such an experience, working men and women would return to their work in factory, farm and office, enriched and refreshed, more vital in their personal life, and more active and useful as citizens and opinion leaders. More recent developments have not followed this pattern, at least in the " long-term ", residential centres (those which offer courses lasting for some months, a year or more). They have increasingly become places which offer second-chance education where younger adult students, often those who have narrowly failed to secure the qualifications for university entrance for degrees or diplomas, can work to improve their position. The residential centres which provide shorter experiences - a week or a weekend - have in some countries had a number of problems to face. Rising costs and rising expectations have tended to present them with a dilemma. Either they can make their provision more spartan and less in keeping with the civilising influence which is among their aims; or they can increase their charges thus accentuating an existing tendency for their clientèle to be middle class; or they can find resources by leasing their premises during most of the week to courses organised by other organisations - training courses for municipal workers or the employees of business firms - which may or may not derive any special benefit from location in the centre.

Critics of residential adult education today assert that the concept of a graceful environment for study where students come to love the old college where they heard the chimes at midnight is obsolete and irrelevant to modern life. For the older adult a long-term sojourn in residential centres is often followed by dissatisfaction with life and prospects and is not seldom accompanied by domestic breakdown. The short-term centre is too often the means of saving some inconvenient architectural relic of the days of monstrous inequality from the bulldozer, and it presents an image which is inconsistent with the title " People's College " or " Folk High School ". There are real workaday merits, in some cases, in residence for educational purposes, but they are best provided not in a fictitious environment. Adults should be with similar younger students of cognate subjects, and residence could best be provided by the addition of extensions or adult wings built on to teacher training colleges, technical colleges and universities that already have residential accommodation.

What degree of weight should be attached to these criticisms is a matter for conjecture. They tend to fit in well with the views of those who wish to cut back expenditure, for residential adult education is comparatively expensive. It must also be noted that they have force mainly in highly urbanised countries. For scattered rural populations the arguments for residential centres are cogent and practical. The whole topic of residential adult education is, however, too specialised for satisfactory treatment in a general paper of this kind.

C. *Adult education as a pioneer for other branches of education*

Some adult educationists, whose main interest is in the kinds of provision referred to in this chapter, which are largely unconnected with the movements towards examinations and qualifications, would not be ill content that adult education should occupy a less central position in national systems. It can, in this way, preserve its freedom to be as it were a frontiersman in educational provision, always ready to respond to emerging needs and demands when they are still nascent and minuscule. For such purposes it must remain fluid and flexible, unencumbered by institutionalisation and State control which is the inevitable concomitant of major State support. Of course, as experience has shown, once some of these needs have been clearly established and once adult education has demonstrated ways of meeting them, it is likely that the work started in adult education will be taken over into the more institutionalised sectors of education such as technical colleges or professional academies that give diplomas. There is likely to be increasing demand for lower level courses in some of the skills of social case work for emergent voluntary workers, themselves living in depressed communities; for courses designed for those who have to deal with the physically handicapped, deaf, blind or paralysed; and for people who have been industrially re-deployed or rehoused from familiar milieux and who require social rehabilitation. And this is to say nothing of a new kind of minor vocational need which calls for some inductive training: the needs of those who are taking on a second, additional job in their leisure. Short courses of this kind have been held in window-cleaning, jobbing gardening and roadside catering of a simple kind (ices, hot dogs etc.) for passing motorists. It is likely that in time such courses will also be institutionalised as the scale of the demand increases. Adult education passes on to new, still experimental areas unsusceptible to any systems analysis of the educational target and weaponry by the main educational structures. In such experimental areas, to quote Dr. Weinberg of the *VHS Pädagogische Arbeitsstelle* in Frankfurt, " The only way of finding the motivations which will bring people to a shop is to open a shop. "

D. *Education for* Mündigkeit

Not entirely dissimilar from " cultural missionarism ", in that its point of departure consists in certain ethical propositions which are not popular, easy or comfortable, is the movement to educate for " maturity ", if that is a satisfactory equivalent for the word *Mundigkeit*. *Erziehung zur Mündigkeit* is a concept which has developed recently in German-speaking countries, and it carries with it the idea of a progressive achievement of intellectual and moral stages of development, suc has the *Ehemündigkeit* with which a girl becomes legally deemed to be mature enough for marriage at, say, the age of sixteen. The person who is fully *mündig* is competent to decide and control his or her own destiny and conduct, and needs the moral and social stage of development that goes with that legal position. It is a position in which the advice of elders, pastors or employers may be freely disregarded and the individual is at liberty to accept or reject traditional or conventional patterns. There is increasing pressure from younger generations to be so regarded at lower ages than hitherto, and this has been met to some extent by a reduction of the minimum age for taking part in parliamentary elections. However, most educators are concerned that this process comes at a time when the volume of knowledge necessary for competent life and civic responsibility in the increasing complexity of modern society has grown enormously. Education for maturity reflects this concern.

E. *Education for family life*

Here again is a category of work unconnected with vocational drives which has attracted the interest of adult educationists. In what is, perhaps, its most noticeable and publicised aspect, this comprises elements from a number of subjects that touch on topics which have only become the subjects of lay study within comparatively recent times. Today the earlier academic work of physiologists, psychologists and sexologists, together with some branches of social anthropology, are combined in adult education courses which are designed to assist people in making the best of their family situation in its various aspects and at such phase-points as adolescence, courtship, parenthood, the departure of children from the home and retirement. The response of the public so far seems to be tentative, but there can be little doubt, to judge from the keen appetite for a constant flow of press articles and television programmes on these themes, that they arouse great interest, which must be presumed to arise from a sense of ignorance.

Perhaps of greater importance in the long run, it has now become abundantly clear that throughout the dramatic shifts in morals and values of the last half century, marriage and the family have shown themselves to be very durable institutions. They have tended to grow in strength as other life patterns and values have crumbled, leaving these to provide for vast numbers of people the one firm refuge, the maintenance of which is the main dynamic of their striving. This is particularly true among the lower income brackets of populations, where there is little echo of bourgeois intellectual criticism of the institution of the family like that of Jean Cocteau who called it “ si souvent un désastre, un vide, un déséquilibre, quelque chose tout à fait raté ”. Even in countries where “ modernity ” and sophistication are most advanced, surveys and “ time budgets ” indicate that the average person spends only about one third of his or her time away from the home.

In this sense, in the past, the ties of family life have been inimical to adult education. The recent trends covered by the title “ family education ” include an attempt to overcome this by catering for the family as such, and also work which will enrich the internal lives of families. We have already mentioned the kind of centre or course designed to attract members, or some of the members, of a family coming together. Often this is done by associating recreational with educational interests. A bridge between the two has not always been constructed, although pedagogically the intimate connection between play and learning is well established. The findings of Piaget have been reinforced by such studies as that of Boocock and Schild on *Simulation Games in Learning* (California, 1968). An example of the application of these theories in a community development setting may be quoted from the “ Great Georges Project ” in Liverpool where a range of play suitable for all, including the adult members of a family, is provided in forms that have a planned educative influence. The play is intellectually challenging in that it involves decisions based upon increasingly sustained reasoning but at the same time it retains the quality of enjoyable fun. Examples differ as widely as from an obstacle race compulsorily at the tempo of eighteenth century music, to a sequence of games testing allegiance to the United Nations Charter of Human Rights. There are also drama and music workshops. The underlying theory of the work explicitly derives much from Huizinga's work *Homo Ludens* which suggests the extent to which a play element is basic to rituals surrounding law, government, manners and morals. A direct attempt to enrich the content of family life was made some years ago at Mannheim in the Federal Republic of Germany. Peripatetic teachers with suitably equipped vans were sent into the streets of certain areas to re-educate parents in the traditional table games for families which had been forgotten during the break-up of family life consequent upon flight from the east and industrial rebuilding and re-deployment. The applicability of the idea in many of our countries is noteworthy. The work of the *Ecole des Parents* in France has already been mentioned.

In some respects television has impoverished the home-life of many families, but these effects may diminish as its novelty wears off, and also as television apparatus becomes more portable, more individualised and less compulsively obtrusive upon family gatherings. The group-life of an adult education class, meanwhile, offers a richer alternative. However, as Dr. H. Jocher, in his contribution to the Permanent Education series *Permanent Education - Future Shape* has suggested, there is likely to come a time when there will be a dense network of self-service educational facilities to which people are linked electronically in their homes. A great deal of education would then revert to being, as in earlier centuries, taken naturally in family and friendship groupings.

F. *Adult education and developing countries*

A small, but growing and significant, element in the opinion of adult education circles is a determination that it shall play a full part in alerting people to their moral obligations to the third world in view of primary needs that are still unsatisfied, and of rapid development in the face of tremendous difficulties; also sometimes of human suffering and misery on an intolerable scale for which some European countries must accept a degree of historical responsibility. In these areas of the world the education of adults is a task of urgency, often, literally, to the point of life or death, and it calls for a special level of work and a specialised approach. Adult educationists from European countries have co-operated with the governments of developing countries in the establishment of their systems. Recent moves to promote awareness among the general populace of our countries of the needs and problems of other continents have taken such forms as the arrangement of courses in conjunction with local branches of international welfare organisations which collect funds to combat famine and under-nourishment. It may be recalled that the World Conference on Adult Education held by UNESCO in Montreal in 1960 resolved that " Rapidly developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have their own special problems, and that adult education... is an immediate need in these regions ". It can be added that there are areas of Europe which are still developing slowly towards the point of placing adequate emphasis upon the value of the individual conscience, spirit and personality.

G. *Adult education as an agent of social change*

Here we come to one of the most significant currents which affect adult education today. Although it is difficult to define, and even more difficult to identify with any recognised centre, it is a very real fact of the present scene. It may be said to consist of the sum of those individual opinions which are fairly widespread among a number of those whose professional work is the education of adults and who are in sympathy with an attitude which is sometimes called " new leftism ". This phrase might carry the misleading implication that these views are connected with a political party; which is certainly not the case. In a sense they are a manifestation of that criticism of, and protest against, the materialist, consumer society to which reference has already been made. New leftists in adult education do not wish it to become an emollient for a society which, in their view, is basically unsatisfactory. Adult education should not help people to accept and adapt to it. The task that lies before adult education is to open people's eyes to the meretricious and stultifying nature of the satisfactions to be had from this kind of social organisation; and to equip people to play an active part in remaking the social structure so that it is more consistent with human potentialities and dignity.

This, of course, is to recapture a stand which was clearly recognisable in the texture of adult education in its early days and discernible in the writings of pioneers of the voluntary organisations like the Workers' Educational Association in England or the *Società Umanitaria* in Italy. But today it is bolder and more radical, less compromising in its aims. It asserts that it is the moral and civic duty of everyone to make an informed, legal intervention in the alteration of society ; and that concern with this should be the dominant motif of adult education, particularly now that its functions as " second chance " education have been diminished by the expansion of initial education and by combined systems. Cultural and " hobby " elements in adult education should be reinforced only sparingly lest they should provide social opiates distracting people from their duty as activists. It is not for people to have to adapt to society, but for them to shape their society to human needs. And adult education must help them to grasp this idea and translate it into practice.

Uncompromising statements of this point of view are comparatively rare but any random selection from current adult education journals and conference reports will indicate a predisposition among many professional workers to think along these lines, which is more freely confirmed in unrecorded private conversation. Two excerpts from the proceedings of the *Salzburger Gespräche für Leiter* will suffice as examples:

" Die Erwaschsenenbildung darf nicht teil des Establishments sein, sondern muss daran Kritik üben. Der Konformist ist kein Erwachsenenbildner. "

" School and university prepare people for existing society. Adult education prepares people to change society. "

To them may be added, from the Dutch report " Function and Future of Adult Education ":

" Adult education has the task of making people aware of the directions in which social structures are forcing them... They cannot escape by flight from these structures but by gaining control and changing them... The possibilities for changing society too often go unrecognised. "

This report of a working party set up by the Dutch Centre of Adult Education defines all adult education as " directed to the guidance and promotion of change-processes in the adult person and in societies " and as aimed at " the fundamental democratisation and humanisation of society ". Making use of small groups, adult education should work towards " ways and means to change social structures " and maximise " the possibility for active participation in the shaping of the individual's own media ". The report expresses some dissatisfaction at the association of adult education with social welfare by the remodelled ministerial organisation in the Netherlands, and wishes it to be joined and integrated with the education of adults of all kinds, including vocational education. Nevertheless it emphasises that the educative part of vocational education consists in the insight which it gives the student into the nature of the economic situation, and the ability which it develops in him to make a critique of his own situation as worker and consumer. It should be said that this report is explicitly drafted within the framework of the theory of permanent education and adumbrates the possibility of finding a resolution of some of the difficulties of that philosophy.

In all this a new note is sounded: something different from the championship of workers' rights of former days. There is now a more corrosive type of criticism of the kind of society which prevails in our countries, and an uncompromising assertion that the central and dominant role of adult education must be as a " facteur de mutation sociale ". An adult educationist who makes personal contact with tutors in other countries can testify to the fact that this type of thinking, even if not expressed for public consumption, is by no means uncommon. It can take the form of a reaction to the practical difficulties of bridging the gulf between vocational and general education. The contribution to people's lives on the latter front is restricted by the existing structures of career education and their monopolistic position exemplified in universities, professional corporations (e.g. medical or legal) and trade unions. The new leftist is inclined to question whether social structures so deeply imbued with these restrictive attitudes, which favour the fortunate possessors of higher intelligence quotients, can be reconciled with true democracy.

These general lines of thought may create certain problems. They raise the question of the feasibility of comprehensive adult education integrated into the pattern of public provision. In an age of increasing professionalism in the teaching of adults, they also pose certain questions of an ethical nature for the teacher and his employing body.This point will be referred to again in an ensuing chapter, but it may be appropriate to mention here a similar difficulty in existing trade union education. Those who are engaged in it sometimes find themselves in an equivocal position. The courses are frequently arranged by adult education agencies at the request of the trade union which contributes to their costs and has clear ideas as to the syllabus and treatment to be provided. The government and the employers may also be parties to the request and also contributing. Certain tensions can arise for the tutor unless the three participants see eye to eye. Nor should it be overlooked that one of the problems facing the upper échelons of some of the great unions is a varying degree of dissidence and indiscipline among the mass of members who often appear indifferent to, or unacquainted with, the complexity of the problems that have to be solved by their elected representatives and paid officials. This constitutes yet another claim on the tutor's sympathy or loyalty.

It is only fair to say that representatives of the new left are much vaguer in constructive proposal than in critical assertion, and it is not easy to form a picture of the truly democratised society which they envisage. To say this is merely to be objective and not denigratory, for perhaps the world has seen too much of doctrinaire blue-prints and will fare better with emergent social structures forged out as the old ones are removed. It is also to be noted that these ideas can contain elements of an almost *folklorique* conservatism. The Dutch report " Future and Function of Adult Education in the Netherlands ", while stressing the desirability of a communicationally homogeneous society, is at some pains to insist on " the right to group-culture ".

H. *General*

As we have said in introducing these " cross-currents ", they do not seem to cohere entirely, either with each other or with some of the massive shapes that appear to be emerging in adult education. Nevertheless, as far as an impartial observer can discern, they exist as facts and must be taken into account in any truthful attempt at a survey of tendencies and prospects. One should be as fully aware as possible of the present if one has one's eye on the future. A forecast based on a comfortable selection of trends could make escape into the future as attractive as escapism into the past.

12

RESEARCH AND INFORMATION

A. *Statistical information*

The committee which prepared the Dutch report " Future and Function of Adult Education " lamented the unfortunate lack of sheer statistical information relating to the education of adults in the Netherlands. This exemplifies an almost universal complaint that is everywhere fully justified. The education of adults is the business of one or more government departments, local or central, concerned with education, health, labour, agriculture, the interior and so on. It seems probable that in none of these departments is adult education regarded as a sufficiently central preoccupation for adequate statistics to be collected. In many of our countries it is well nigh impossible to have officially backed figures about some of the fundamental facts of the education of adults. Instead one must rely on independent, informed estimates. It is not possible to know with certainty what is the total expenditure on the education of adults within the restricted sense used in this study. It is not possible therefore to have any accurate conception of the proportion of this expenditure to total educational expenditure of all kinds. As for more detailed information of a kind that would be of the greatest value to those concerned with the development of adult education, the position is naturally worse. Given even a conjectural total expenditure on the education of adults it would be important to know how it was apportioned as between categories of work, between categories of subject, between the various adult age-groups. Ministries and authorities for education tend to use a statistical compilation which is designed for initial education with only weak interest in students " over 15 " or " over 18 or 21 " who are not in schools, colleges or universities. Such statistics as there are - whether from official sources, or the compilations of experts, or the fruits of random sample surveys - are often insecurely grounded in a classification that would be approved by a qualified statistician. Thus in adult education many of what appear at first to be hard facts turn out to have a soft underbelly, to be too partially based or constructed around subjective categories such as " working class " or " humanities " or " leisure subjects ". This is the case in single countries, and it can be left to the imagination what difficulties beset any attempt to draw up comparative statistics for Europe, although no one would question their value if adult education is to develop by what we can learn from each other.

For many years the European Bureau of Adult Education has given devoted service as almost the sole information link between our countries. Internationally speaking it has had meagre resources for this important task and has contrived to carry it on thanks largely to the support of the Dutch Government. It is good to know that the expertise which it has accumulated is likely to be employed in work towards a more securely based system for the collection and transmission of information. Work has begun within the framework of the Council for Cultural Co-operation towards a European set of statistics for adult education. At present this is at the difficult stage of establishing an agreed typology. Experts in the field of educational and sociological statistics who have been consulted have cast doubt on a number of the traditional categories, many of which have corresponded with the administrative needs of government departments or voluntary organisations rather than with objective facts. The way ahead may well lie in making a small number of micro-studies of the global needs for learning among all adults in a defined town or area and a scientifically based classification of the work, its provenance and costs, which responds to them. It is important, however, that a satisfactory typology and statistical series of categories should be soon established as a matter of urgency in view of the opportunity which has been opened up of including adult education in the European Documentation and Information System for Education (EUDISED), a computerised system for co-ordinating information and research findings, within a framework of cost-effectiveness, on an international basis.

B. *Research*

When we turn to research proper it is clear that while some extremely valuable work has been done, there are too few workers in a position to collate and co-ordinate the fruits of this research and to make further studies of its applicability to actual learning situations. Findings of research that relate to the personal factors affecting adult education, or to social patterns that can reinforce or weaken it, need a great deal of close investigation before they can be accepted as valid everywhere regardless of national characteristics and structures. This of course is far less true of research into the actual processes whereby adults learn, or into human communication, interpersonal relationships and a number of teaching techniques. On the other hand studies concerning organisation, finance, staffing and evaluation tend to be strongly subject to national differences.

The position may be no worse for adult education than for education as a whole. In the Report on Education for 1970 by the *Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft* of the Federal Republic we note that even in a country which is among those best provided with research establishments, there is some lack of coherence and direction to educational research. “ What is entirely missing is a comprehensive concept for fostering research. ” So far as adult education is concerned one can usually add other missing factors - such as any arrangement for diagnosing the need for research in a particular sector of the work, or any clearing-house for findings. As the volume of adult education grows, universities and other research institutes increasingly turn their attention to it and set up new chairs or other directorships which initiate programmes of research. There is seldom any centrally kept record of what is going forward or of findings. To form a European or even a regional picture is impossible at present. Some time ago a proposal was made for the setting up of a Nordic Documentation Centre which would have this task, but the difficulties proved too great and the task has been left to individual countries, who find it sufficiently challenging for the time being.

The research situation is not, however, entirely dismal. The last quarter of a century has seen the full emergence of adult education as indefeasibly a branch of study in its own right, a valid subject for academic scientific investigation. Responsible opinion is beginning to understand that the teaching of adults and the educational needs of adults differ markedly from those either of children or of young full-time students. Moreover some of the conclusions of andragogical research have been very widely publicised with beneficial effects upon the cause of adult education as a whole. Such, in particular, has been the conclusion, arrived at in several countries by separate investigations, that while there is some measurable decline in people's ability to learn, to exercise intellectual grasp and to memorise as they become older, this decline, even at advanced ages, is negligible in relation to other factors which differentiate people's ability to learn, such as length and quality of initial education, general intelligence level and the extent to which a habit of learning has been formed and kept from atrophy.

C. *Fundamental difficulties*

A difficulty of conceiving a coherent research programme for adult education is that andragogical knowledge has to cover such a diversity of phenomena, such a wide range of teaching-learning situations, that it is difficult to establish any principle or methodology which can be applicable to all. There are not many research projects which can be relevant to, let us say, the following situations : a graduate metallurgist taking an up-dating course on release from his firm ; a retired salesman taking a course in musical appreciation ; a trade unionist taking a course in law ; a housewife learning pottery ; a young man of nineteen enrolled in a multi-media system leading to *Mittlere Reife* ; a young man of nineteen learning karate. A somewhat similar consideration is suggested by Dr. Hannelore Blaschek writing in *Erwaschsenenbildung-Oesterreich* for August 1971, of the difficulties for those who try to establish a *Didaktik* for adult education. Such a didactic would need to be worked out within the framework of a unified overall phase of education with clear social and personal objectives.

D. *Research needs*

Nevertheless, although it may not be possible to draw up a logical master plan for co-ordinated research, most practioners in adult education bewail the lack of firm guidance on a number of topics which could be illuminated by research. The Dutch paper " Function and Future of Adult Education " stresses the supreme importance of research into the educational needs of adults, their motivation towards education and the andragogical methods best suited to them. It also calls for more investigation of the qualifications and training of teachers of adults and the question of the most suitable premises for adult learning. Similar lists would result in most countries from an enquiry into research needs.

It is known that across our countries some research has recently taken place or is going on into topics in the following fields:

(*a*) leisure patterns in differing socio-economic sections of the population; and their bearing on the educational needs of the sample;

(*b*) ageing processes and their significance for adult learning capacity;

(*c*) motivation towards, and disincentives from, adult education; the effectiveness of various kinds of publicity;

(*d*) the location and timing of classes in relation to different occupational or geographically located groups;

(*e*) the methods of training teachers of adults;

(*f*) comparative evaluation of learning by face-to-face tuition and learning from multi-media systems;

(*g*) the socio-economic composition of particular groups of students in adult education;

(*h*) the nature and extent of handicap constituted by deficient initial education;

(*i*) teaching problems with the third age;

(*j*) public image of, and attitudes towards, adult education;

(*k*) the effectiveness of group work techniques in subject teaching;

(*l*) particular techniques for the teaching of a number of subjects, e.g. natural sciences, foreign languages;

(*m*) the effectiveness of a link between the visual image, books and tutoring in a library centre.

This list, of course, can make no pretension to be exhaustive, based as it is upon what one individual, in one country, can pick up by primitive processes such as conversation and correspondence and the chance encounter with reports across a language barrier which excludes acquaintanceship with the rich fields of Scandinavian research. With such reservations the following comments on what has been achieved are made.

E. *Untouched areas awaiting research*

While it may be heartening in, so to speak, a political sense, there is something wasteful in the type of research which continues to add to the evidence for now well established propositions such as that the demand for education in adult life is strongest among those who had the longer and better type of initial education; and further to prove that these are largely to be found in middle class occupations and circumstances. By contrast almost no serious research has been undertaken into the effects of various methods of financing adult education, and whether an increase of student fees will bring an enduring diminution of student numbers. It is still a matter open to assertion and counter-assertion.

The methods of research into adult education are restricted by inadequate resources and they sometimes seem to be open to the charge of amateurism, and to be engaged in confirming an impressionistic finding by an inadequately structured opinion poll. Usually, however, a high academic standard of procedure is followed. But leaving this aside, one can note one or two grave deficiencies about research into adult education so far as it has gone.

By far the larger part of the education of adults today consists not in the learning of academic subjects as classically conceived, but in the teaching and learning of practical, manipulative and physical skills, whether undertaken for vocational or personal purposes - whether in lathe-turning or leather-work, engineering or dress-making, printing or drama. Yet most of the research into andragogical method is concerned with the learning of ideas and concepts; with intellectual, not physical processes. It has taught us something, for example, about the effect of ageing upon the powers of memory and comprehension, but almost nothing about its effect on powers of muscular co-ordination and tactile response to stimuli. We have to depend upon traditional assumptions or assertions, such as that such and such an age is too old to start learning how to wire an armature or to play the violin or to paint a picture. As to the best methods for teaching a practical skill, there is little to be found in the conclusions of research into adult education. In the United States more along these lines has been tried, and with some useful results. One example is the discovery by researchers that as people age they come to depend, in communication, more and more upon visual stimuli rather than upon aural. It is also unfortunately true that powers of visual perception tend to diminish steadily from the early thirties. These conclusions are not without their significance when courses for adults are increasingly held in the evening, in schools where - unless special installations for adults are made - the lighting has been designed for keen-eyed youngsters who need it only as an auxiliary to daylight. They are also relevant to the use of mechanical methods of visual presentation in a classroom.

Again, it would seem that adult education research has hitherto paid little attention to the recent findings of medicine and social anthropology. From the latter comes a renewed affirmation of a typology of human beings which cross-cuts ethnic or socio-economic divisions and, also, divisions into categories of innate intelligence. The ectomorphs, endomorphs or mesomorphs fall with equal incidence among Kenyans and Norwegians, among university students and mineworkers. These types, each with its distinct psycho-physical characteristics, differ to the point where different life-styles and, indeed, life-goals may be predictable for them. Thus in a random sample of middle-aged men, the educational response to individual psycho-physical life needs may take such different forms as a course in golf or a course in oriental philosophy. This is a reflection which might have been derived from common sense, but anthropological confirmation - if research in adult education confirms it - would bring an illumination, perhaps not entirely comfortable, to adult educationists who have been accustomed to operate under a single formula such as culture or reason, or physical fitness or political commitment.

Medical research has tended strongly to validate the existence of a number of psycho-biological phase points in adult life. Hitherto it has been an assumption of educationists that with the exception of the menopause in women all life after puberty is a flat monochrome plateau, biologically speaking, until the final descent into dissolution. Not only has the existence of a male menopause come to be reasonably well authenticated - although estimates of the age of onset vary from 38 to 48 - but other phase points, such as peak adult competence, senescence, disengagement and the beginning of physical involution, have been identified and studied. Each stage calls for conscious adaptation and makes a demand for fresh education, a sort of emotional recyclage. One must note, too, that these psycho-biological stages can be complicated and reinforced by the phases imposed by the patterns of our industrial and professional organisation: the periods of learnership, of advancement, the plateau of peak promotion or earning capacity, withdrawal, and retirement. In women the period of younger motherhood contrasts, often painfully, with the " empty nest " of later married life. It is to be noted, too, that all over Europe most men in their sixties lose their jobs; and most women lose their husbands.

It is on themes related to such fundamentals of human life as it is experienced by millions of people everywhere that research into adult education may well make a useful contribution that will indicate the part which adult education can play in helping people to surmount many difficulties which are neither social nor cultural but an intrinsic consequence of having been born.

Lastly, it may also be said that adult educationists have been slow to study the findings of research which has been concerned with pupils at school, some of whom are young adults. It is, perhaps, understandable that this is the case, for it has been necessary for adult educationists to insist that adult learning constitutes a separate sphere. Nevertheless some of the research into school processes may not be without significance for andragogy. Examples which come readily to the English reader are listed among the 1970 *Schools Council Projects File* published by the London Department of Education and Science. They include for example " Mathematics for the majority " and " Arts and the adolescent " at the University of Exeter, and " The formation of scientific concepts " at the University College of North Wales.

13

THE PROFESSION OF ADULT EDUCATOR

A. *Growth in numbers*

As a consequence of the increasing importance attached to all forms of adult education in our societies, and of the steady increase in the number of people who in one capacity or another are part-time students in adult life, there has been a corresponding increase in the number of men and women who are professionally engaged, full-time, as directors, administrators, organisers, supervisors, and, of course, as teachers. The number of those who are so engaged part-time has increased even more markedly. It must be said that this is a growth in totals of people so engaged regardless of whether they are highly qualified academically or animateurs with only a limited background of qualification; or of whether they are working for statutory authorities or voluntary organisations or combined systems involving radio and correspondence; or whether they are engaged in vocational retraining schemes or in " cultural " programmes. With this reservation, it is safe to say that the increase will continue. More than that, it is likely to rise sharply in the immediate future. We have mentioned the great numbers of teachers who will be involved if general paid leave is adopted in the Federal Republic. In France it is estimated that the new law about paid leave for workers will, over the next few years, create a demand for some thousands of full-time teachers and perhaps as many as fifty thousand part-time tutors as well. Indeed, there is a school of thought in several countries that the needs for education of the adult population should be globally covered by a national plan which provides for an organiser of adult education for every, say, thirty thousand people: or which makes some other disposition of full-time adult education posts on feasible lines. The Dutch Report " Function and Future of Adult Education " adopts this point of view. There can be no doubt that where full-time appointments in adult education are made, they always create a new demand for courses, and experience suggests that there is no danger that the occupants of these posts will find themselves under-employed.

B. *Problems of status and training*

The existence of a small number of professional adult educationists has been a fact in most of our countries for some considerable time, but the idea of a substantial profession of teachers solely for adult education is, on the whole, a comparatively recent one. So, too, is the idea of more detailed and structured attention to the training of part-time teachers of adults, and of officially endorsed qualifications for this part-time work. These themes were not conspicuous, if treated at all, at the 1960 Montreal World Conference. Since then have come a number of propositions about qualification, training, status and the creation of a nationally recognised profession. Not all these propositions are consistent with each other.

Chief among them is the statement that there are not enough people engaged in adult education to meet the present demand and, more important, to stimulate the potential demand. The present shortage manifests itself not merely in gaps in the provision - the sheer lack of facilities for people to have courses in certain areas, and in others the untapped interests which could form the starting point for adult education - but also in the unsatisfactory standard of work in many courses where tutors are clearly not helping the students to master the skill or knowledge for which they have come ; not teaching in ways suitable for adults, not using modern techniques and the resources of educational technology, and failing to make the most of the class-meeting as one element each week in a course of learning which is largely autodidactic.

The reason given for this is the sheer lack of a well-established profession of adult educators with a salary structure and career expectations which would not only attract the right sort of person but also keep them in adult education. At present it is too often a temporary halt, a jumping off ground for younger people who leave it for internal work in universities, ministries or other more securely based work - and this is understandable. Again, whatever mixture of motives brings students to adult education courses, they want above all mastery in the subject, which can only come where there is real specialist expertise on the part of the tutor. At present the opportunities for career prospects for such subject specialists are greater in the schools, colleges and universities than in adult education. Adult education has had to depend to a large extent upon the comparatively small number of tutors who have a real vocation - in the priestly sense of the word - for work with adults, or who feel themselves committed to it by reason of a particular ideology. Ideally, perhaps, such teachers are the only type that one would hope to find, but if there is to be the expansion of adult education which is forecast, it would be as unreasonable to expect it to be staffed by dedicated idealists as it would be to expect the schools or universities to be so staffed.

These are striking arguments but they hardly mention that adult education is largely staffed, and is likely still to be under any new dispensation, by part-time teachers, whether of academic subjects or of practical or vocational skills. They usually have a main profession to which their work in adult education is a parergon. Only in the small minority of cases is this side-line embarked upon without any financial consideration, and there is little social encouragement or approval for their work. They are drawn from all sorts of professions ranging from internal university or college or school teaching to millinery and motor mechanism maintenance. The fees they receive for their work in adult education are usually an insufficient part of their total income for them to be justified in taking this work as seriously as they often wish, for example in the preparation of lessons, in pastoral care for individual students, or in making the subject as generally educative as possible. It must be noted also that for many highly qualified or skilled people there is often far greater remuneration to be had in other part-time work than in education. Above all, it is not easy to induce them voluntarily to take some training for work in adult education, nor is it yet very clear what the extent and content of such training should be. Indeed there are some who say that this problem, rather than the creation of a full-time profession, is the priority problem of staffing. Writing in *Erwaschsenenbildung-Oesterreich*, Mr. H. Altenbuber said recently that training provision for the full-time worker is reasonably well arranged, but that the main need today is for training schemes for the teacher who has another main job (*der zweitberufliche Erwachsenenbildner*). As we have mentioned, research has not yet sufficiently illuminated the pedagogy of the teaching of manual and physical skills; and again, it is not always easy to conceive of the kind of training course which is suited to teachers of such skills, who are technically highly qualified, but at some disadvantage in matters of conceptualisation and verbalisation.

C. *General pattern of proposals*

Nevertheless the general tenor of proposals to rectify this state of things places the creation of a properly structured and articulated full-time profession of adult educator in the forefront. This involves a salary structure appropriate to various levels of work, and career prospects according to experience and qualification. It is to go hand in hand with the establishment of a system of minimal qualifications for the various levels of work, and these include some training in the professional expertise relevant to the education of adults. The full-time, trained adult educator will have the responsibility of ensuring the training, either through seminars or on-the-job advice, of the part-time teacher.

Such a concise statement of the proposed way forward coupled with the encouraging resolutions of conferences and the statements of public men, can paint too optimistic a picture. It conceals areas of great practical difficulty and complexity, perhaps more than any other aspect of adult education. At the moment it is very difficult to feel sure that any generally practicable solution is beginning to emerge, and even though there is a consensus of informed opinion it is often no more than an agreement to license anarchy and call it a constitution.

D. *Prospects for a full-time profession as the main solution*

For the creation of the sort of integrated and articulated profession outlined above it will be necessary to embark upon a long, painful and, indeed, hazardous series of negotiations in any one country to establish agreed relativities between various categories of worker, some employed by public authorities, some by voluntary organisations, some by independent corporations providing combined systems of long-distance education. They will be composed of teachers whose work in many cases is so different (e.g. the course in philosophy and the course in vehicle maintenance) that the only unifying factor, the only common interest that can be presupposed is that they are all teaching adults.

However, these difficulties are not insuperable. More problematic is the contribution which such a full-time profession can make to the training of part-time teachers, who must remain the majority of workers in adult education. Adult education takes place during the leisure of the students and, however much we may anticipate a growth in day-time demand and the extension of schemes of educational leave, the greatest weight of work is likely to continue to fall in the evenings, and that for about three hours only. It is not economically feasible to maintain full-time staffs to meet the greater part of this evening demand. Moreover adult education is constantly shifting its main interest from one curriculum area to another, and the interests are often only of a transitory nature arising from temporary social needs and fashions. It would be unthinkable to maintain a staff with specialist ability to deal with all of them. Thus for the foreseeable future adult education will largely be in the hands of part-time teachers. They will be employed by a number of different agencies: education authorities, voluntary organisations, industrial re-training agencies and so on. They will include quite simple people who give their services on a neighbourhood basis as animateurs for study groups at rudimentary level, highly qualified academics or technologists, and people teaching subjects by virtue of their personal experience to which no recognised qualification is relevant, such as flower arrangement or yoga. How they can be fitted into a fee structure is a matter for conjecture. More to our point is the problem of their willingness to take some training for their adult teaching, and the ability of the professional adult educationist to plan and construct suitable courses of training. It is to be noted that some of the most valuable contributors to part-time teaching - those drawn from the internal departments of universities - are inclined to reject the notion that training has any relevance to their situation, and to regard the suggestion of it as something of an indignity.

E. *Some progress*

Progress has been made now that these difficulties and problems are being brought much more clearly into focus. For some time the Committee for Out-of-School Education and Cultural Development of the Council of Europe has been concerned with them, and it was responsible as early as 1966 for the publication *Workers in Adult Education* which summarised the position at that time, and has led to several national investigations. Everywhere adult education is now regarded as a necessary ingredient in educational provision comparable with the schools and the other establishments of initial education. Yet only embryonic structures for the profession of adult educator are to be found, if one understands the term in a comprehensive sense. A study of the applicability to other countries of the *Diplôme de Conseiller d'Education Populaire*, instituted in France in 1965, may well suggest a way forward. This particular diploma, which is not entirely relevant to certain aspects of adult education in other countries, might serve as a model on which a wider qualification could be constructed.

Before we can come to closer grips with the problem of the establishment of national professional structures we must know more clearly precisely what it is that our societies wish adult education to be. We have already noted four major strands of work covered by the term: the traditionally academic and the verbal and intellectual studies; cultural and practical creativity and the social arts and crafts; education for participant democracy and community development; and work that has a vocational or career or labour-market importance. Is the same kind of staff and professional structure apposite for each? And if it is, are our societies prepared to regard each of them as equally valuable and to accord them the same kind of esteem; or to rate them in some order of precedence in claim to status and remuneration?

F. *The contribution of the part-time educator*

Rather against the grain of general opinion in adult education circles, Mr. B. Schwartz, basing his views on experience in the community development type work he has initiated in Lorraine, has stated unequivocally that the most useful type of adult education worker is to be found among those teachers in schools and colleges, and those from other professions also, who give their services part-time to teaching adults. This, he points out, is not a matter of cheapness or convenience but rests upon the fact that only in this way does the education of adults remain an integral part of total educational provision, not something apart, of a separate nature, with different aims and characteristics, like the dilettante pursuit of high culture by a small minority. This point of view accords well with the views of other experts that it is desirable to have teachers who are from the same social milieu and background as the students. It is not always easy for this to be the case where the teacher is a member of a structured profession of the kind envisaged by many people who are concerned with the staffing of adult education. As such, and with a background of academic qualification and professional training, the teacher tends to come as the representative of an alien culture, and it is sometimes difficult for the students to identify with his values. Of course, this drawback might be thought to apply equally to those who have had training as school or college teachers when they come to part-time adult work. Perhaps the ideal teacher would be found in someone from a particular area who, having qualified through adult education itself, returns to teach among his former workmates.

The contribution of school and college teachers to adult education is often a matter for discussion. They have a long tradition in this respect and they are often familiar with the family needs and problems of the community in which their school is located. On the other hand they are sometimes accused of being unable to adjust to the kinds of classroom relationship which are most fruitful in the teaching of adults. The plain fact remains, however, that school teachers are likely to provide a very substantial proportion of part-time teachers in adult education. It is regrettable that so little attention appears to be paid to this during their training in teacher training colleges; promising developments could be made there. It is probably a good thing that adult educators should first have had experience of other kinds of teaching, or other kinds of work. Indeed this leads to the reflection that there might be demerits in a profession of full-time adult teachers who had decided in youth to enter that profession as other people decide to go in for dentistry or engineering. We have become accustomed to the idea that a decision to enter adult education as a teacher is the product of maturer judgment. In some countries, however, such as Finland, the training of adult educators has always been bound up with school-teacher training.

G. *Increasing professionalisation*

However hesitant are the steps towards an institutionalised profession, there can be no doubt of the increased number of full-time workers in adult education and of the increasing extent to which the work even of part-time teachers is imbued with the ideas of professional expertise. This, of course, is a consequence of the increased number of studies and research projects, publications and professional conferences. It is now more and more clear that the business of teaching adults cannot be undertaken by the light of nature. There is a substantial body of knowledge and technique to be mastered if the job is to be done properly. In France in 1969 a government paper *Réforme du Diplôme d'Etat de Conseiller d'Education Populaire* stressed the need for some minimal standardisation of the necessary professional expertise. It is interesting that in France in the previous year a distinction had been drawn between the work of *enseignant* (tutor) and *animateur*; for the latter, qualification by examination was abolished and replaced by the supervision of modules of work experience.

Professionalisation, in the sense mentioned above, has gone forward in the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic, although in a variety of ways suited to the pluralist provision of adult education and the differing needs and standards of different organisations and levels of work. There has been an increase in the number of seminars for part-time teachers and in the courses and high level conferences arranged for tutors who, in addition to the degree of doctor or magister, have additionally a university diploma in adult education. In both countries the suggestion of a comprehensive profession of adult education arouses some gratification at its implication of a larger field for professional advancement, but at the same time fear and resentment at the idea of any " dilution " of quality, on the part of some teachers, and a determination not to accept any down-grading in a new hierarchy, on the part of others.

H. *Administrators*

It is not in all of our countries that the officers of ministries and local authorities who have the charge of adult education have had any training or background in this field. In the past it has often tended to be a piece of official work which is undertaken without any special enthusiasm as an addition to some other function such as vocational courses in colleges and schools. With the emergence of greater governmental interest and of new comprehensive structures, adult education is likely to become one of the more significant divisions of official work and there will probably emerge a demand for conferences and courses specially designed for administrators.

I. *The content of training*

For the time being it is necessary still to think in terms of training courses with a different weight and content as between various types of course and various degrees of commitment on the part of fully professional or part-time teachers. It would seem unlikely that any one agency could arrange training for all these purposes, although the claims of university departments of adult education to such an omnicompetence are sometimes strongly pressed. While the regional institutes of French universities offer simpler and quite pragmatical forms of training, and, indeed, some universities elsewhere have devised training schemes for teachers in non-academic adult education institutions, there remains a tendency for the university department of adult education to over-emphasise theoretical knowledge for teachers who will have little occasion to use it. The university contribution would seem better adapted to the intending full-time tutor or those part-time workers who intend to find posts in administration or direction. For such teachers it is important and relevant to their work that they should, in training, be made acquainted with something of the history and philosophy of adult education; of the psychology of adult learning and the biological development of adults; of the motivations that impel students towards adult learning, and the differences in these which are brought about by socio-economic circumstances. It will be necessary for them to know the principles of programme planning for an area, and methods of publicity and public relations. They should also be familiar with the whole range of possibilities for an adult to make educational progress which exist outside the institution or voluntary organisation with which their own work is connected. And the whole business of the evaluation both of the effectiveness of courses and of the progress of individual students should be among their studies in training. This not an exhaustive list but rather gives examples of areas of knowledge with which the part-time teacher may well be far less concerned.

Turning to the training needs of the part-time teacher - which emerge rather as practicable suggestions for use in actual work in the class-room - one can note, among deficiencies which could be rectified by training, that there is insufficient knowledge of how to construct a syllabus working at this task with the students themselves. There should be full knowledge of the skills of exposition and demonstration, including the use of all the technological means which have been made available to teachers in the last decade. Techniques for promoting and sustaining and tactfully directing discussion, and for eliciting latent knowledge or wisdom among the students, are also essential. A full knowledge of how classwork can be reinforced by reference to libraries and the mass media, including an eavesdropping interest in multi-media learning systems, is equally needed. For those who themselves teach in such systems it is obvious that a specialised form of training will be necessary. In the training of part-time teachers, as in the more detailed studies of professional workers in adult education, some account must be taken of the specialist study of group work. From the class teacher's point of view the study should be kept brief and should avoid too detailed an exposition of the theories of group dynamics. There is a need for guidance from the experts as to how the fruits of group studies can be mediated in a compressed form which is largely confined to clear, positive suggestions about method. In this connection such works as Dr. Leslie Button's *Discovery and Experience* (Oxford University Press, 1971) may well be of great service to those responsible for the training of teachers of adults.

J. *A new note*

Almost too late for reference to it to be made in these pages there has appeared an interim version of a study which is being made on tutor training for the Council of Europe by Mr. J.J. Schneffknecht. In its present form it is of course little more than a sketch-plan of the work to be undertaken, but it sounds a new note in a number of respects. It involves a radically new approach to the training of teachers of adults. It rejects the notion that there is a neutral body of skill and knowledge, of the kinds outlined in the preceding paragraphs, which can be transmitted in training as, say, skill in swimming or fire-fighting is transmitted. The making of a true adult educator involves a change of attitude based upon an on-going examination of the situation of the students and of the tutor himself. This process can best be achieved by a group in training which examines its own situation in learning and does so in relation to a critical appraisal of the organisation of society as a whole. Mr. Scheffknecht makes the firm initial proposition, which we have mentioned before, that it is a fundamental of adult education to be an agent of personal and social change. Training for adult education is training for social commitment. " Teaching can never be neutral, so the teacher will be either an agent of conservation or of change... Every tutor is consciously or unconsciously the agent of a political aim. " These provocative points have been singled out here from a plan which is extremely coherent and takes full account of the skills of tutorship in modules or units of experience.

Such an approach to training might provide an answer to a question which is raised by the proposals of those who would work towards a comprehensive, officially grounded profession for adult education. This is, how can a place be found in it for those who see their work as providing people with the means of making a reasoned critique of society as its exists? Already some adult educators who see this as their chief role can find themselves in embarrassing and inhibiting situations, caught between their functional responsibilities and their social conscience. Mr. Scheffknecht's study may show that there is a reconciliation between these pressures.

K. *General*

There seems to be no overall conclusion of any very satisfactory nature to record: no general trend to note. The present situation as regards status, qualification and training is anarchical and defective. It does however emerge from deep divisions of opinion about the nature and purpose of adult education; and from very wide differences in the nature and level of the actual provision that is being made. An untimely attempt to impose a unified scheme upon those who work for universities, for governmentally maintained establishments, for voluntary organisations or for combined systems could well devitalise the work of all or some of them. For the time being European efforts are being concentrated - even though in a separated, unco-ordinated, and therefore somewhat wasteful, manner - upon ensuring that the different agencies obtain the staff which they need and are in a position to devise their own forms of training.

14

PERMANENT EDUCATION

A. *A developing concept*

More and more of the people who are responsibly concerned with the education of adults in Western Europe are beginning to conceive of its future development in terms of, and as a part of, a total re-shaping of global educational policies and provision; and this in the context of the ideological movement known as " permanent education ". We have referred to this, briefly but on several occasions, in the earlier pages of this study. Separate and closer consideration of it has been postponed until this late stage for two reasons. First there is the desire that an outline account of permanent education may suggest the hope that ultimately there will emerge master concepts and *grandes lignes* of policy in European education which will help to resolve many of the conflicts of opinion and practice which we have had to record in adult education today, and which may well make some of our present dilemmas and divisions seem quite unreal. Secondly, we have delayed giving an account, in passing, of permanent education because it cannot be reduced to a neat, short formula but needs a separate chapter. It is not a finished product, but an on-going process of investigation, exploration and study to which additions are constantly being made. Its general principles are being applied to a widening range of aspects of the educational and social scene, and its principles themselves are being enlarged by accounts of pioneering experience in educational practice. They still include one or two apparent incoherences, and the harmonisation of this considerable body of studies, conclusions, pilot projects and propositions is not yet complete. It will readily be understood why it has not been possible to treat such a voluminous but important theme within the compass of a paragraph or two.

B. *Language difficulties*

Indeed the term " permanent education " itself has not been without its critics or its rivals. For the native English speaker the word " permanent " is likely to convey the meaning of a lasting, indelible imprint after a once for all experience, as in " permanent ink ". This is almost exactly the opposite of what is intended by the word in

" permanent education " where it has the French connotation, as in " *spectacle permanent* " : " on-going " " to be entered at any time ". However, the more or less official translation of the French word into " life-long " has not gained acceptance and is seldom used. Among English speakers it is more familiar in the context either of fairy stories or of funeral notices. The terms " continuing education " and " recurrent education " are also in use and are sometimes taken to be alternatives for " permanent education ". This is not strictly speaking the case. " Continuing education " tends to direct attention to the immediate post-school education of young workers in *Berufschulen* and similar establishments. " Recurrent education ", a term used widely in the Scandinavian countries, is closely associated with the post-school phase of life, stressing the educative value of work itself and looking critically at the expansion of initial education : it envisages instead the introduction, as early as possible, of alternating periods of work and study. Both are terms which could be applied to aspects of permanent education, but should not replace it. Whatever their faults, the words " permanent education " have been adopted by English speakers although a new confusion has arisen because of a tendency to take them as synonymous with " adult education ". In the United Kingdom this confusion may be traceable to a paper from the old Ministry of Reconstruction of 1919 which is still quoted in adult education circles :

> " Adult education is not to be regarded as a luxury for a few exceptional persons here and there, nor as a thing which concerns only a short space of early manhood. Adult education is a permanent national necessity, an inseparable aspect of citizenship, and it should therefore be universal and life-long. "

The writer obviously lacked a keen ear for the resonances of " life-long ".

At the same time it must be noted that in most of our countries there have been many examples, during the past decade, of emerging educational experiments and propositions (concerned with such diverse parts of the educational spectrum as nursery schools and universities) which reflect, or are derived from, the philosophy of permanent education, but which have appeared without any reference to it under that name. Such was the case as late as 1968 in the report of the British National Union of Students on the topic of adult education. We have also noted earlier that the use of the term *éducation permanente* in France has tended to equate it with the constant availability of facilities for vocational education. However, in whatever sense it is used, the term, in any language, carries with it the idea of a large-scale rethinking and re-making of educational structures to make them correspond more closely with the changing needs of humanity. As Mr. Paul Lengrand of UNESCO has written, " Whether it is sometimes used to cover vocational or adult education, permanent education is usually applied to new conceptions, new research, new realisations expressing the desire to bring about a new order in education. " It should also be remembered that permanent education is a concept which comes to Europe as part of a world-wide movement.

C. *Contribution of the Council of Europe*

As far as Western Europe is concerned it has been peculiarly the work of the Committee for Out-of-School Education and Cultural Development to undertake the process of discovering the firmer policy implications of what might otherwise have remained merely an inspiring slogan, like " education for all ", of the kind to which any type of government could give ready approval without intending further action. The Council commissioned a number of expert studies on the applicability of the ideas of permanent education to the existing national structures, development programmes and educational theories of individual countries. Other studies have been made which deal with more generalised methods of applying the principles of permanent education or which indicate its relevance to student motivation or the biological basis of learning at all ages. Through a series of working parties and round-table meetings, the Council has also begun the work of rationalising the doctrines of permanent education and introducing them to politicians and high functionaries. This work has reached a stage where it has been entrusted to a project director and the document " Fundamentals of an integrated educational policy " marks a distinct advance. It is to be followed by a number of pilot projects in various countries. It should be noted that all this work has been undertaken with the approval of the governments represented on the Council for Cultural Co-operation and that permanent education has the blessing of all of them in principle. The following account will show that in the body of thought known as permanent education there are still one or two obstinate inconsistencies.

D. *Education planned for needs throughout life*

Far from being an apologia for adult education, permanent education is concerned with the totality of educational experience which a society provides for its members throughout the whole length of their lives. To be satisfactory a society must at all stages of life allow its members to find the means for self-development, improvement, betterment, adaptation, progress. There is a drive towards these in all human beings, a drive which, though discontinuous, is co-extensive with life itself, and which, of its very nature, involves learning. It is as much a feature of a baby crawling as of an old man adjusting to crutches. Human beings learn throughout their lives. In common usage " education " is the name given to those aspects of learning which, at any given time, society has decided to reinforce by the provision of opportunities for them, or by the support, encouragement or endorsement of those who offer such facilities. The choice of those aspects of learning is based upon societal values which must be subject to revision unless social life is to atrophy.

Facilities for education can involve learning which is unconscious and informal, as in a crèche or community centre : or which is conscious and formal, as in a school, a university or an adult education course. Because elements of expression, of practice and feed-back from real experience are an essential part of learning, those charged by society with the business of education have inevitably had to concern themselves with the conditions and facilities which exist for people to exercise their knowledge vocationally, personally and socially. It must then be an integral part of the work of educational authorities to ensure the improvement of the conditions of work and of the leisure environment. It is clear that, in its scope and in the age-span that is the basis of planning, permanent education announces entirely new dimensions for the concept of education.

E. *Education for change*

Equally fundamental to it is the principle of education for change, a concept evolved to meet new facts: the facts of rapid, escalating change, technological, social and ethical, of which some examples were given in an earlier chapter of this study. The idea of an initial education which can suffice for a life-time, like the idea of a curriculum which has an eternal value that makes it relevant to all eras, must be discarded. Permanent education implies constant revision, and no educational aim, no form of organisation, no subject, no method is to be regarded as sacrosanct. Such an approach is not only novel, but also calls for a new readiness to face up to tasks which challenge a certain innate conservatism in human nature. As Professor Kay, reported in the publication *Explorations* (Department of Education and Science, London) has said, " The biological bases of human learning processes do not readily lend themselves to continuous change. " The need for continual revision conflicts with that formation of habit and habitual attitudes which has long been noted as a self-protective feature of humanity.

F. *No terminal point in educational provision*

Permanent education envisages a society in which education is planned from the outset as something to cover the learning needs of all citizens throughout their lives, with structures so arranged and expenditure so deployed. The traditional notion of a terminal age for the education of the majority of people somewhere between 14 and 25 is abandoned. Education must be made to serve fully those beyond these ages. The organisation and curriculum of what in the past has been initial education must be reconsidered in the light of major education to come for everybody. This may result in the enrichment of the education of the young by a more leisurely pace, freed from the need to learn much material for which they are too immature, and liberated from the vicious competition of a race towards gates which will close for ever at the age of 18 or 19. The educational system must be remade to enable people, later in life, to undertake the learning for which, individually, they become ready. It must be made to correspond to people's needs over a life-time - discontinuous but recurrent needs - and it must have a full relevance to their personal and social as well as their academic and vocational progress; their desire for betterment or for adaptation as they reach common psycho-physical or career phase-points in life.

G. *Credit allowances and sandwich procedures*

Permanent education is resolutely opposed to any notion either of individual termination of education which alone would justify the concept " failure " or the finalisation of a low standard or grade, or of a final halt in a particular sphere or at a particular level of employment. An educational system must be made to take account of the unpredictable development at all ages of new abilities and ambitions. Instead of the negative recording of " failure " in tests and examinations, there should be a positive appraisal of what has been achieved, however little, with credit allowance for future efforts towards the desired result. The " sandwich " procedure, of alternate layers of gainful occupation and education, should become a normal feature even before the end of compulsory education in school. A succession of such sandwiches should be readily available for all people as a way, open at any time, towards academic and vocational qualifications, as well as to skills and knowledge for personal competence and cultivation. All workers should have the right to claim conjoint education and employment through " release " schemes and educational leave. At the same time there must also be an adequate provision of courses from adult education agencies or radio, television and combined systems which can be taken by people in their leisure.

Courses of all these kinds (sandwich, release and leave, and leisure) must be empowered to lead to all forms of recognised qualification, including university degrees, through graduated stages subject to assessment. The whole complex of courses of learning should be arranged on a cumulative credit basis, with free movement, with credit allowance, from course to course, stage to stage, regardless of the duration of time intervening between each.

H. *Education for earlier ages*

The basic unit with which educational planners must be concerned is not a narrow year-span at the outset of life, but the whole of life. Nevertheless, we must presuppose some radical changes in the education of youth. These include the full development of nursery education, and possibly a reduction of the weight attached to secondary education. Permanent education draws attention to the operation of a law of diminishing returns for all initial education. In the secondary and other initial vocational education fields, it suggests that priority of attention should be given to the abandonment of encyclopaedism and ineradicable skill as aims. This would favour the preparation of pupils, both in attitude and technique, for learning later in life; and also the elaboration of new interdisciplinary branches of study which can be applied at later stages, unlike much in the traditional curriculum. It would favour, too, the development in the pupils of a flexibility of mind and adaptibility to new circumstances, calling for a generalised ability to acquire knowledge for new situations. The new structures of initial education should be integrated into the pattern of post-school education and freed from any survivals of their origin in stratified, hierarchical societies motivated largely by fear. They should contribute to enabling each individual to master his technical and socio-cultural environment, and to become capable of an independent criticism of it which would help towards its future development.

I. *Place of educational technology*

Permanent education is particularly concerned that the fullest possible scope be given to the development of educational technology, and of education through the mass media, either singly, or in combined systems. These are seen as essential ingredients in the democratising and equalising influence which education should have, and no sentimental loyalty to traditional methods or forms of organisation must be allowed to restrict the enormously increased opportunities which the new technology of education will bring to people for private, individual learning at their own convenience. In adult education, as in all learning situations in schools and colleges, the role of the conventional class or study group needs a thorough re-examination and re-appraisal. Certainly one of its future functions will be rather to serve as a place where the student learns to use the new individualised means of learning, and where he can implement their use by discussion and criticism, than to serve, itself, as the chief source of knowledge.

J. *Industrial needs*

Permanent education stresses the need for educational systems to cater for the demands made by society for vocational training, refresher training and training for redeployment. It sounds a note of warning, however, that in any truly liberal society there can be no educational policy which puts the aspirations and satisfactions of individuals lower in priority than the statistics of productivity. The personal obsolescence of the worker, or the human problems of his redeployment, must be a matter of prime importance for education.

K. *Culture and participation*

From the cultural point of view, it may be said that permanent education is in harmony with programmes designed to enable all citizens to make really free choices in their style of life, and not choices limited by the inheritance of prejudice, or by ignorance of know-how, or timidity. It is axiomatic in all statements about permanent education that in all branches and at all levels of educational provision there should be the fullest practicable opportunity for the learners to have an effective say in shaping that provision, in evaluating what is provided and in proposing amendments and additions or alternatives to the content and method of teaching, and in suggesting changes in the government and environment of the learning situation, with the reasonable expectation that their suggestions will be seriously entertained.

L. *Adult education in this framework*

It will readily be seen that in the setting of permanent education the education of adults is an integral part of educational systems, and its rationale no longer needs to depend on the idea of second chance education. Permanent education means the enduring existence of a chance, and the education of adults is end-on to, and inseparable from, the education of the young, in providing this chance. Systems will have to be planned on the assumption that at any one time a majority of the adult population is having some education.

It could well be, however, that the concept " adult education ", as something with a separate existence, spirit and tradition, could tend to disappear. This would be, of course, not because its existence as a movement had been cancelled, but because it had been subsumed into a larger development; because the adult education movement had achieved its objectives. Detailed study of the effect of permanent education policies on the various forms of work with adults and their organisation has not yet been made. It is to be noted, however, that most of the studies on a broad canvas which have appeared, tend to the view that the foremost need in the development of facilities for the education of adults is that they should be rationalised, co-ordinated and institutionalised as fully-sharing parts of the national educational system. Completely new legislative foundations are needed, and there must be a major developmental effort by the State comparable in scope, energy and resources with those efforts which in former days were put into the creation of the schools system, and the technical and university education systems. Initiatives on such a massive scale can scarcely be left to individuals or voluntary organisations. They are to be expected from the State as the direct undelegated responsibility of government; the operation of the development programme must be the direct responsibility of local government.

It is with these possible policy inferences in mind that the Dutch report "Future and Function of Adult Education" warns that, unless there is extreme vigilance, the realisation of permanent education could be "a treacherous mechanism for encapsulating adult education in a technocratic educational system designed to produce adaptibility" to the needs of industry. At the same time, the studies made in permanent education so far have emphasised that governmental intervention must include the fullest recognition of people's right to have an effective say in the arrangement of response to their needs for learning. The principle of autogestion is one of the fundamentals of the philosophy of permanent education. Many of the statements about it refer frequently to the work of voluntary organisations which have pointed the way ahead, [illegible] in the face of governmental opposition or lack of sympathy and support. The whole theory of permanent education calls implicitly for a crusading spirit which can scarcely co-exist with a sense of official responsibility and can be found only in voluntary associations. In Scandinavia where these associations are the foundation of the provision of adult education - in Sweden alone they have 150 000 study circles with 1½ million students - the philosophy of permanent education is widely accepted.

That is one of the areas in which the theory of permanent education still awaits further clarification. Another relates to the financial aspect of education in adult life. Some of the expert statements look forward to costs being borne by society in view of the contribution which will be made to economic and social stability: an input adequately balanced by output. Others speak of the costs of education at adult stages of life as falling in varying but just measure upon the students, who may be assisted by loans, bursaries and insurances. Financial arrangements are, of course, likely to vary with the relative strength of different economies and national traditions.

M. *Voluntary associations in the future*

It should be said that even in Scandinavia there has recently been some discussion of the need for voluntary associations for adult education to take the initiative themselves in rationalising their operations and apportioning the field more effectively between them. It has also been forecast that a time may come when their role, while remaining of great importance, would be more in an advisory than in a providing capacity. But, in any case, none of the thinking which has so far been conducted within the framework of permanent education envisages a monolithic type of State provision with no place for the voluntary body. It is merely stated that such bodies will not have the strength to initiate the major growth of adult facilities which will be required. Indeed in one of the latest Council of Europe studies in this series, *Continuing Education for Adults*, Mr. B. Schwartz explicitly states that the answer to the broad and varied range of human educational needs which he outlines will not lie in imposing a State-provided system of adult education. People must be given the opportunity of finding relevance in educational provision to their own situation as workers of various kinds, as viewers and listeners, as members of groups and communities with common interests and developmental needs. Out of these will grow voluntary associations which must be, along with those which exist already, among the main units of a system of adult education.

N. *General*

To refer to these difficulties which have not yet been entirely solved in the formulation of permanent education must not be allowed to detract from the accession of strength that the movement has brought to adult education in the last few years. Increasing familiarity with its concepts among political men and administrators has given them a new insight into the value of adult education, a new attitude to its claims for support and financial backing, and for its inclusion in plans for development and new legislation. The report of the Seventh European Education Ministers' Conference, 1971, at Brussels, records that the Ministers wished to consider all the work which has been treated as adult education in this study as falling within the area of recurrent education which attracts their strong interest.

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IN CONCLUSION

It would be the height of austerity or timidity to abstain from offering some general opinions which try to appraise and summarise, if not synthesise, the movements and lines of thought to which reference has been made in the foregoing chapters. These concluding observations, however, will be made with the diffidence proper to a single individual attempting to survey a continental scene, and limited no doubt by unconscious prejudice, insufficient knowledge, insularity and, indeed, by participation in, and commitment to, some of the trends and ideas to be evaluated. A more detached assessment must await the future historian of adult education.

A. *Grounds for optimism*

" The 70s will be the decade of adult education. " These are the words of the Prime Minister of Sweden, Mr. Olof Palme. Recently, also, the Danish Commission concerned with the future development of society as a whole (" Prospective Plan for 1985 ") has expressed a similarly optimistic view about the coming role of adult education. These notable Scandinavian forecasts find an echo in responsible prophecies in other countries. It would seem to be impossible to cast doubt upon them provided that one thinks in general terms, defining adult education, as we have in this study, as the provision of education of all kinds for adults in any situation. If, however, one has in mind the outlook for some particular sector of this wide spectrum, and restricts the meaning of adult education to some category of work within it, one which may be especially dear to the heart, then one cannot entirely accept such assurances of a glowing future.

We have already suggested that a rough and ready distinction can be drawn between certain great categories of adult education as it has been defined here, and, in considering the future prospect, it is useful to recall them. They can be stated as:

(*a*) Courses in, and based on, the established academic disciplines, dominated by ideals of humane scholarship and cultivated thought, including courses which deal with avant-garde movements in sociology, politics and the arts and sciences;

(*b*) Secondly, courses in practical skills or informative knowledge which respond to people's needs in their personal and leisure life, including the latent needs for expression and creativity, and the desire for improved social status;

(*c*) Thirdly, courses designed to liquidate pockets of disadvantage in sub-cultural or even anti-social groups or communities and depressed areas; and courses to combat or compensate for the malaise and pollution of intensified urbanisation;

(*d*) Lastly, courses which assist people in career advancement or the increase of income by preparing them for examinations and qualifications or for new job skills; and courses which contribute to national productivity and the satisfactory deployment of the labour force.

How far will each of these categories share in the general advance of adult education which has been justly foretold? It is necessary to consider some more general factors in the making of the future before we can begin to form an estimate.

B. *Conflict about the social structure generally*

It is difficult to tell, in a world of conflicting values, whether any one of them will prevail to the extent of affecting the social fabric itself and becoming a dominant orthodoxy. The present pluralism of values is not something of which Europe has had much peace-time experience. It is not something largely for the academic philosopher, the kind of learned controversy about the right approach to goals concerning which there is little disagreement, which has been a feature of our societies since the time of Aristotle, who is worth quoting on the point, as he underlines the direct link between social structure and educational system:

" That education should be regulated by law and should be an affair of State is not to be denied; but what should be the character of public education is a question that remains to be considered. For mankind are by no means agreed about the things to be taught, or whether they should be designed to ensure the virtue of the student or his material satisfaction in life. Nor is it clear whether education is concerned more with moral than intellectual excellence. The existing practice is perplexing. No one seems to know for certain on what principle we should proceed. Should the emphasis in our training be upon things which are relevant for life, or on moral excellence, or upon the pursuit of knowledge? All three opinions are firmly held. " (*Politics*, Book 8).

The urbane bewilderment of this, so familiar to educationists, might be reassuring for us today until we recall that it refers to differences which are fundamentally academic and largely a matter of emphasis, like the schools of thought of the nineteenth century - Hegelian, Kantian, mechanist, Christian, socialist - all of them consisting in codes of personal and social behaviour which were practically identical. Today's differences involve radical and real conflict, not only about the nature and purpose of man and the good life, but about actual styles of life and forms of personal and social action, and about different policies for the immediate alteration of society, and the role of education in it. It is noticeable, too, that the exponents of these different values often manifest some intolerant impatience to take action before the debate has been concluded : action to remodel the social structure or to take preventive action against those who would do so.

C. *Two profiles*

It is impossible to refer adequately to all divisions of opinion, with their eddies and cross-currents. From the point of view of publicly supported education two larger profiles may, however, be drawn. The former, more recent in its appearance, sketches those opinions which lay stress increasingly upon the merits and value of life as it is lived, in spite of all technological change, by ordinary, intellectually unambitious people who earn their bread by routine work in factories, offices, fields, mines and shops or transport and communication systems. " Ce qui n'est pas peuple est peu de chose ", said Flaubert a long time ago, and in the thinking of many adult educationists today there is admiration for the unconscious, almost telluric, wisdom enshrined in the way of life of ordinary people who enjoy mass pursuits and interests - the sociable games and spectacles, the " vulgar " accessible music, things which integrate man in solidarity with his fellow-men, and do not, like a taste for Montherlant or Alban Berg or Mondrian, isolate him in fancied superiority. Education should start from, and preserve, this kind of value, and enable people to express themselves in their familiar medium without the tension and pretension of straining after moral and cultural values which are not native to them. It should help people to the fullest measure of satisfaction, removing the limitations which have been constructed by former dominant minorities in the name of decency, culture or respectability. It should respond to popular impulses towards demonstrative behaviour, the spontaneous expression of emotion, colourful and gregarious rituals, and the unverbalised sociability which centres around popular pastimes: not those of a folkloric past but those of the era of Bardot and Eusebio. Education should equip people to take civic action to preserve their way of life and make their values prevail ; and it should enable them to stretch out the instinctive hand of neighbourly help to each other in a more skilful fashion. It should also equip them for the work whereby they create and acquire, collectively and individually, as great a measure of material means to satisfaction as possible. Along such lines, adult education will find its true role and become a mass-interest.

Contrasting with this is the profile of those who hold firmly that man is not so much born human as capable of achieving humanity by a process of self-development, in which it is the business of education to stimulate and assist him. Man has the moral duty of extending his knowledge and control over his environment and over himself - and to the furthest possible limits - not of nestling in uncouth and effortless cosiness. This process necessarily involves the acceptance of some loss of comfort and ease and instinctual sociability and free rein for the impulses. Certain voluntary self-restraints are demanded, and the inherited wisdom of the ages is some guide in these respects. Education should give people access to the best in literature and the arts because here is to be found the heritage of recorded values, and failure to appreciate them is no mere flaw in otherwise satisfactory personalities, but a root deficiency, a crippling ignorance. The distinguishing feature of fully developed humanity is the full use of reason, a rationality made constantly more effective by the steady accumulation of knowledge. The duty of adult education is particularly marked. It should envisage not the service of mass tastes but the formation, in all walks of life, of a well developed minority. Speaking ten years ago to the National Institute of Adult Education, Carleton Greene, the Director of British Broadcasting, said:

> " In every age and every country there is a small creative minority which is enlarging the bounds of its culture, advancing the frontiers of thought, or interpreting again the great works of the past. In this country that minority has never come exclusively from any one class or section of the community. "

The pardonable platform chauvinism of the last sentence need not obscure the truth of what is said in relation to all our countries.

D. *Eclipse of the concepts " cultivation ", " nationality ", " ability "*

Each of the two extreme profiles - and it has been difficult to draw them without bordering upon caricature - is an extreme with many kindred physiognomies of deeply held opinion. One cannot but observe, however, that the second of the two is less common now than formerly and that these opinions have lost ground to the former, with its fashionable features of democratisation, emergent action for mutual aid, immediacy, sociability, relevance and hostility to elitist bastions. Writing in *Paedagogica Europea* in 1966, H. Bourdeau observes:

> " The work of too many educators consists in refurbishing the lovely anachronistic face of " the man of culture " - a statue bequeathed to us from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and further advanced with the bronze trousers of Victorian morality. In some curious way they believe that they can, by attention to the traditional disciplines, make their students transform themselves into small animated replicas of this statue - puppets who will reap their reward as lovers of culture, savouring its delicate pleasures behind the drawn curtains of their individual ivory towers, whether freehold or municipally owned. "

There can be little doubt that this is the keynote of today, and it is to be questioned whether any public man would today be so far prepared to affront the fashionable ideas of 1971 as to reiterate the views of Mr. Carleton Greene in 1961.

There has been very considerable questioning of the moral validity of rationality, and a reassertion of claims for a healthy animality as the index of fullest humanity. Certainly in the solution of social problems a rational approach is now often criticised as a dehumanised mechanism which gives the advantage to the bourgeois verbalist's delaying tactics, as contrasted with an approach which is instinctive, impassioned, " committed ", direct, spontaneous and immediate, and which will " get things done ". It is also said that if ordinary people are to be more deeply involved in political action, the way to bring this about is not to try to induct them into the rebarbative rationality of conventional committee procedure.

The popular arts and mass entertainments have, to a large extent, emerged, not only as subjects of serious study in universities, but as freed from any cultural or ethical inferiority, from the charges of " passivity " or " lack of challenge ". To quote the American sociologist, D. Riesman:

" The distinction between active and passive culture is not a real distinction. A form of culture is often called active when it is merely muscular. Its content in tactile acid is high, but it has little else. On the other hand, watching a film may bring deep emotional experience. "

The concept of " ability " - Aristotle's " intellectual excellence "- has suffered considerable erosion in the climate of educational opinion today. It is now customary for educationists to note that " ability " is no more than a conventional term for referring to those aptitudes, chosen from among a broad wave-band of aptitudes in every human being, to which at any given time a society attaches rewards for its social purposes; and to point out that aptitudes outside this chosen sector are equally valid morally, and contain possibilities of rich human experience. This point of view is well illustrated in a survey of the teaching of drama in schools, undertaken in 1966 in England. Those who made the investigation found that the children who gave a lead in this subject came with noticeable frequency from the " less able streams ", and they asked the question whether a different type of intelligence was involved in the ability to give vocal and physical expression to an imagined character or situation. Perhaps, too, there is a difference in the type of ethic from which the judgment is made, as one boy, said by his drama teacher to be outstanding for vitality and involvement in the work, was described by his headmaster as " a nuisance - no ability - a show-off ". Adult education practitioners may recognise a type of personality which makes a useful student but a less acceptable companion.

Enough has been said to underline the difficulty of making forecasts as between various aspects of adult education, but the shift in opinion would certainly seem to favour an enhanced esteem among educationists for courses in areas which lie outside the traditional academic disciplines, areas which in the past have often been regarded as lower-level and not quite worthy of the name of " adult education ".

E. *Education for tolerance*

It seems also safe to assume that, in the same measure that adult education is invoked to serve action groups seeking to alter society, often in ways that are deeply offensive to others, there will be social approval for a move in adult education, as in all education, to stress the virtues of tolerance: the acceptance that different life-goals and life-styles are to be expected in different individuals and different groups. Tolerance easily gains assent as an intellectual proposition. It is for the application of the principle to actual behaviour and attitude that people need education. Tolerance involves the need for considerable self-restraint, and the increasing call for it can build up a sense of frustration. A distinguished director of educational research in England, Dr. Wall, has said that the greatest educational need of the coming era will be " education in the digestion of frustration ". This is work of extreme difficulty and those who have specialised in it, such as the adult education staff of the Anne Frank House in the Netherlands, which is dedicated to the reduction of prejudice and intolerance, can testify that it calls for the utmost patience and tact, and a capacity to " tolerate intolerance ".

F. *New attitudes of younger adults*

Despite the expertise of futurologists the coming shape of our societies is hard to predict. Man does not roll darkling down the torrent of the fate the futurologists predict for him, but having heard their prophecy, sets about falsifying it by evasive action. Some beginning of this is seen in regard to pollution of the environment and also the population explosion. But, in any case, the future no longer grows out of the past by an evolutionary process that can be predicted. Experience of the last fifty years indicates that the future will be largely conditioned by unpredictable technological or scientific discoveries. Those who engineered the social services, including adult education, in the era of the cinema, could not foresee the entirely different leisure patterns brought about by television. These considerations may well account for the attitude of many younger adults to the past and its heritage, which must seem to them to be largely irrelevant. Until a quarter of a century ago the attitude to the past of generation after generation had not altered much since Bernard de Chartres in the twelfth century said, " We see wider because we are dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants. " It is not to the great thinkers of the past that the young men of today are prone to look, but to the scientists and sociologists and technologists of tomorrow. This, however, does not involve them in a tendency to reject or decry their living elders. The contrary situation is nearer the truth. An article in the *Journal of Clinical Psychology* records an investigation of attitudes in a northern town by Musgrove who found that two thirds of older people disapproved of teenagers, while only a third of the teenagers disapproved of their elders. Nevertheless, the younger generation look forward to social and technological change and expect it to alter their way of life for the better.

G. *Future of initial education*

Technological changes may well revolutionise all aspects of education, not merely the familiar structures serving the education of adults which may be remodelled or replaced. The General Rapporteurs of the OECD Conference of 1970 on Policies for Educational Growth, MM. Halsey and Frankel, stated:

> " Listening to the participants we were struck by the changes of definition in the scope and significance of educational policy which had taken place since the last conference in 1961. "

The process of educational re-thinking has escalated, and what is avant-garde and experimental today can become orthodox standard practice in a very few years. A few years ago the concept and structures ofsecondary education appeared to be based upon solid rock. Today their future is problematical. Mr. Kahn of the celebrated Hudson Institute has noted a trend everywhere towards a diminution of the place of secondary education. In a lecture on " The school in contemporary society " Professor Torsten Husén of the Stockholm School of Education said recently:

> " The teacher will chiefly be called upon to plan, guide and evaluate the progress of the individual pupil. The actual transmission of knowledge and the real work of learning will essentially have to rest on prefabricated material... A distinction will have to be drawn between the 'learning function' of the school and its 'socialising function'. "

Quite apart from the applicability of these words to adult education itself, they suggest the emergence of a kind of school which, in its organisation and arrangements, may well bear little relation to the school of the present day. Indeed, in the United Kingdom, a recent, responsible work on education has cast doubt upon the concept of compulsory schooling as having relevance to the needs of modern society.

H. *Individualisation of learning*

The technological revolution in learning processes is bound to affect educational structures because of the possibilities of individualised learning which it opens up. Whether this individualisation is to be welcomed as a liberation or decried as a de-humanisation, it will certainly take place increasingly wherever students are sufficiently mature and sufficiently motivated to be able to dispense with constant moral support and encouragement as they go about their learning. The spread of individualisation has been held up for a time because, as Mr. Schmidbauer's study on *Educational Technology* (Council of Europe publication)has indicated, we have lacked a media taxonomy of adequate sophistication for selecting from a range of media possibilities the particular combination which will suit the individual case. This lack will shortly be supplied. It is significant that in Norway, Storting Report No. 84, 1970-71, on the use of radio and television in education, enunciates the principle of media taxonomy and makes institutional provision for its application. As learning becomes increasingly individualised, the part played in learning by the presence of a group of fellow-students, or a teacher, or of a school ambience, will correspondingly diminish. Their " socialising " function may well increase, but relationships are bound to change. Many experts welcome this. " Learning by units ", says Dr. Peters of the *Deutsches Institut für Fernstudien* at Tübingen in his monograph under that title, " will emancipate the learner from the bonds of tradition and from academic hierarchies. "

It is possible that the process will affect some subjects more rapidly than others. Dr. Peters suggests that the need for a teacher and class-group will persist where the subject cannot be broken down into a number of relatively small objectivated units, mastery of which can be tested. The same probability can be inferred from the study by Mr. L. Cros on *Correspondence Education in France* which suggests that in suitable subjects the transmission of information itself constitutes an incentive to further learning. Mr. Cros, too, is among those who welcome individualisation : " When this pedagogical development is complete, individual studies will inevitably be integrated into the broad framework of the educational provision. "

I. *Democratisation of initial education*

All this is, of course, to say nothing of non-technological influences which may very possibly affect the major structures of initial, and therefore of adult, education. Much has been written about student unrest and dissatisfaction with university structures, and this is undoubtedly a force for change. On examination, however, the " Ideas of May ", in whatever country they appear, prove often to be narrowly concerned with the interests of students as a class, with their career prospects and opportunities for sensory diversion. Their dissatisfaction might well be overwhelmed by a more widespread dissatisfaction on the part of populations as a whole. In this connection may be noted the type of development reported in *Le Monde* of 25 September 1971, as a part of the cultural revolution in China where, as is still the case in our European countries, long and persistent efforts and policy planning had only managed to secure a minority representation of the working-class in universities; and where, in 1968, workers and soldiers physically took possession and control of the universities, shortened the length of degree courses, abolished an upper age limit for entry, reduced primary schooling by one year and secondary schooling by two years. To base an educational policy on the possibility of such a development in Europe would be folly; to make an educational policy without giving it a thought would be even greater folly. The trend towards participation in control, whether in the management of industry or the government of schools and colleges, seems to be irreversible and is bound to affect the shape and content of all initial education.

J. *Relevance and vocational education*

The call for " participation " and the call for " relevance " are intimately connected as parts of the same antiphonal chant. Relevance means a clear and obvious relationship between the curriculum and the circumstances and lives of the pupils and students: a relationship which they can immediately comprehend. Not unnaturally relevance comes to mean, in increasing measure, relevance to bread and butter, to career and income. The great American pragmatist philosopher Dewey, whose ideas have influenced educational thought in all our countries in this century, once wrote of a curriculum which lacked this kind of relevance:

> " A number of my pupils are on the poverty line. They take every opportunity of disembarrassing themselves of what education has imposed on them, in order to think about their own lives, - not the lives of other people in other lands in other epochs. "

Thus the drive towards an adult education which is increasingly concerned with vocational matters results both from the thought of educationists and the pressure of popular demand for relevance. The Dutch report " Function and Future of Adult Education ", with its emphasis upon social commitment, can scarcely be accused of narrow utilitarianism, but it too speaks of the need for adult education to respond to people's vocational needs. " It must serve the needs and interests of all categories of the population ...to enable them ever and anew to make a better realisation of their potentialities as participants in the work processes " (*Teilnehmer am Arbeitsprozess*).

For reasons touched upon in an earlier chapter this development in adult education is likely to be generously reinforced by governmental approval and support. The committee entrusted by the Danish government with the task of redefining adult education has been charged in particular to examine the question " to what extent vocational training - additional and refresher courses - shall be counted as a part of adult education ". And we may note a further reinforcement of the trend in the increasing interest shown in it by industrial firms. So far as adult education serves their purposes an increasing financial contribution from them is foreseeable. The Irish Interim Report on Adult Education suggests that employers should take some financial responsibility for the cost of courses taken by their workers ; a tripartite form of contribution is mentioned whereby the employer and worker each pay a quarter of the costs, the remaining half falling to the taxpayer. This, of course, is to say nothing of the increasing extent to which firms themselves provide education for their employees. The Swedish Employers' Federation (SAP) in 1968 gave education in sophisticated managerial studies to 12 800 persons entirely at the expense of the firms. Reference has already been made to similar massive developments in the Federal Republic. In the United Kingdom a substantial part of the work of some extra-mural departments of universities is now composed of courses purchased by firms for the vocational education of higher level employees. Tutors engaged in the Lorraine project in France (CUCES) (*Centre Universitaire de Coopération Economique et Sociale*) are said to be in demand by business firms on similar terms. So, too, the tutors for such voluntary organisations as *La Rotonde* in the Netherlands.

It is clear enough that, in so far as it is seen to be relevant, adult education will be sought and supported by all those who are interested in the size of the national cake, the size of the slices and the prevailing way in which they are handed out. The continued growth of trade union education will keep step with education for management and productivity.

K. Verschulung - *towards examinations and qualifications*

Both the vocationalisation of adult education and its individualisation through multi-media systems will accelerate the process of *Verschulung* to cover a wider area of the education of adults. In this guise a considerable amount of work in older academic disciplines may well survive. The examination courses leading to qualifications include material that no one would hesitate to acknowledge as " humane " or " liberal " if they appeared in a " pure " form " untainted " by any examinational purpose or application to productive work in the real world. Debate around this issue is likely to subside as the gap is bridged between the traditional university ideal of " pure knowledge " and the utilitarian objectives of the old-style technical institution. As Dr. H. Jocher points out in the study quoted earlier, neither of these ideals is relevant to contemporary society and both have been largely abandoned in practice. A new, integrated type of cultural objective is likely to be common to both types of establishment, each of which will, however, have its own emphasis or standard.

L. *Social criticism in adult education*

We have noted the apparent growing-point for adult education, in a number of countries, in the increasing move on the part of professional workers to respond to and stimulate a demand, particularly among younger people, for courses which embark upon a general questioning - a *remise en cause* - of the present structure of society, or by which action groups can either equip themselves ideologically or with procedural know-how, or study the detailed application of their programme to particular institutions or behaviour patterns. This is most likely to occur where, as in the Netherlands, adult education is almost entirely in the hands of voluntary organisations and where there appears to be an unusually liberal use of governmental control through the purse-strings. In so far as any major growth in a particular category of work depends on an equally major supply of State finance, the general outlook for this growing-point is conjectural. To a certain degree our societies are accustomed to the idea that social development emerges from a dialogue, and are thus willing to support an opposition. Usually this opposition is channelled into well-established forms that operate within the conventional framework of procedure in one or two clear directions. How far public support can be extended to a considerable number of fragmented protests, vocal with the shrill dissonance of a Mozart operatic *tutti-Schluss*, is a matter for speculation. In the past, adult education has assisted an opposition which accepted, and even in some senses admired, major features of the establishment. A working-class student who came to Workers' Educational Association courses in its earlier days has recorded his gratitude: " I came literally exulting at the high privilege - there is still an element of the miraculous about it - and intending to render some service in return. " Such service was often in a political opposition party, but on those terms the role of adult education aroused little question. Today's climate presages greater difficulty. An approach to adult education overtly in accordance with some of the principles laid down in Mr. Scheffknecht's paper on Tutor Training or in the Dutch report " Function and Future of Adult Education " may well encounter a certain coolness among those who asked for financial support. This is not in any way to question the value or truth of these principles, merely to observe that the growth of this category of work will probably depend largely upon the continued supply of men and women who are prepared to enter the profession of adult education less as a career than as a calling in which they will be missionaries, taking small thought for their own tomorrow and identifying in all respects with the students whom they seek to make aware of under-privilege. It is by no means unlikely that the increasing output of our universities, particularly in the social sciences, will ensure the continued flow of such tutors.

M. *Community development*

By contrast there is plentiful evidence for forthcoming increases in State support for forms of adult education associated with schemes for the elimination of social or educational disadvantage, and for the integration of sub-cultural, alien or anti-social sections of the population into fuller participation in the main-stream life of society. Work with immigrants or migrant workers, work which liquidates under-privilege, or the generation gap, or " alienation " : all these forms of work in adult education are likely to have the strong approval of governments, not merely because of the threat to social stability which such enclaves constitute, but because of the steadily rising sensitivity of the public conscience. Governmental policies in this direction have already been mentioned. The 1970 OECD Conference on Policies for Educational Growth was, according to the official report, strongly imbued with the determination to end social inequalities by action amounting to the " positive discrimination " of the British Plowden Commission (which recommended a deliberate loading of the dice in favour of children from disadvantaged areas when public money was to be allocated). The Swedish Adult Education Bill 1970-71 similarly gives priority of claim on public money to work which affects neglected, disadvantaged or educationally most reluctant sections of society. Mention has already been made of the ensuing commission (FOVUX) which is investigating methods " for contacting those most in need of adult education ", using, where necessary, financial incentives. The future for this whole area of work seems assured.

N. *Education for problems of urbanisation and pollution*

Somewhat akin to it, and also likely to be regarded benevolently by those who control the public purse, is that work in adult education which helps people to come to terms with the consequences of intensified urbanisation and the later, sophisticated stages of industrialisation. These appear to be irreversible trends inseparable from that mighty increase in material prosperity which only a handful of thinkers sincerely reject. Nevertheless, there is much that can be done to assuage personal dislocation, and to minimise or compensate for the destruction of the environment, or of life patterns which were amenities and factors for stability in the old, less productive organisation of society. The last sixty years have seen the rapid disappearance for most people in our countries of a way of life that, in living memory, centred around an agriculture still conducted by methods on which the old Biblical metaphors - the scythes and stooks, the sowing and gleaning - were based. Today new cities continue to be filled with new citizens and the older cities expand to meet each other. No government is likely to arrest this process, and in this respect it would be nonsense to try to contrast the wishes of the people with the attitude of governments. For this is the road to the kind of enrichment which can be handled and quantified and weighed in the balance against the imponderables of nostalgia or malaise or prophecies of an impaired biosphere. The disappearance of rural values and rural " wisdom " is even welcomed by a number of reputable sociologists who regard urbanisation as the necessary threshold of true civilisation, echoing Marx who saw in the peasant " a hieroglyph indecipherable for any cultivated spirit ". Yet, if *die Stadtluft macht frei* it also makes for personal and social ailments of a pervasive kind which were unknown in the past, which are characteristics of the million-city. They are of a kind which can be assuaged and kept within control rather than cured, and a chief feature of the treatment is the production of a change of attitude in the patient, the inhabitant of the city, which will induce in him a readiness to accept new types of social relationship and new disciplines in the use of environment. The hard facts of the situation can scarcely be altered. Thirty thousand people all driving their cars towards the peace of a celebrated beauty spot on the same holiday afternoon cannot but engender huge frustration and notable pollution. So does mass commuting from high-rise flats to city centres, and return to the cellular isolation of television-watching. These are the types of ailment which in the past, on a smaller scale, have brought people to adult education, for real inter-personal relationships, for reflection and an attempt at comprehension. Public authorities are likely to look benevolently upon elements in the adult education curriculum which help to reduce wear and tear on people and damage to the environment.

O. *Education in personal knowledge and skill*

Considering its remarkable growth during the past two decades, one might expect this category of work to continue to expand. This is likely to be the case, but some reservations are necessary. The appetite for " leisure education " has still only begun to manifest itself, and it is an appetite sharpened by an atmosphere of which the competition for social status, the yearning for creativity, and a horizon widened by improved basic education are all components. The demand for courses in knowledge and skills for personal life and development will grow with the growth in productivity and the standard of living. To adapt an American " mot ", " What is good for General Motors may not be good for society, but it is certainly good for these kinds of adult education. "

However, intimately bound up as it is with rising prosperity, this area of adult education is particularly vulnerable to the consequences of any fear of recession on the part of governments, and also to political timidity about demands on the tax-payer for educational expenditure. Educationists have come to extend their esteem to this area of work as truly educative, but they have not succeeded in persuading public authorities, and, in particular, the elected representatives of the people in local and central governments. Indeed, high functionaries and administrators often have a more sympathetic comprehension of the educative influence of a course in, say, flower arrangement or musical appreciation of creative drama, than many members of legislatures who, having themselves " come up the hard way ", are inclined to ask why the taxpayer should support other people's fun and entertainment. There is undoubtedly a strong possibility in most countries that governments will be disposed to expect such courses to be self-financing to a larger degree than hitherto.

Even so, this area of work is likely to thrive, based as it is upon broad areas of human need which will endure through, and indeed be intensified by, the social change which lies ahead. This type of course responds to the need for intellectual and physical diversion - " escape " is a word of which only the Hamlet-like or existentialist character is ashamed - and to the need for social impact, for identity and status, for making a creative imprint on something or someone, and to the need for social competence. Grounded in such needs this category of work is likely to survive the increasing share of costs which may be thrown upon the students. Experience of increased fees already encourages this conclusion.

In time, too, governmental and public attitudes will surely change. As the economic basis of society becomes more assured there will be less nervousness about its fragility. Perhaps, too, public opinion will awaken from the hypnotised adoration which it gives to work, and education for work, as opposed to leisure: awaken from the spell by which it has for the last two centuries been bewitched into mistaking means for ends. Any text-book chapter on " Industrial and economic life in ancient Athens " deals with corn and olives and pottery and boat making and silver smithing on a homely scale which makes it plain as a pikestaff that this industrial and economic aspect is merely something to serve the needs of people's personal life. This fundamental order of priority has been obscured by the sheer enormity and complexity of modern industrial installations and organisation. Man began to worship the Bessemer oven or the cooling tower as things that have claims to duty and love. We have lost sight of the fact that the nuclear reactors and production-belts and merchant fleets and stock exchanges and foreign offices and tankers and secret services and oil-rigs are mere means to the end of keeping Mr. and Mrs. Smith warm and fed and safe, and free to pursue their own personal lives.

There are already signs of stirrings from this trance, this worship of work as the one great thing in life, with all else as its fag-end, a thing of little account. Several of the reports which have emerged from committees on adult education encourage this view. More weightily the OECD Conference on Policies for Educational Growth, to which we have already referred, forecast that our countries may envisage a growth of 65 % in the gross national product: but, the report goes on to say, there was agreement that productivity is not an end in itself but " a means to a higher quality of life ". The implications for that area of adult education which is often written down as " recreational " are far-reaching.

P. *Future structure of adult education*

So far as the legislative basis and the structural shape of adult education are concerned it is not possible to forecast in any great detail. Differences in the present establishments will continue to be influential. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the move to integrate the education of adults into the overall planning of national educational systems will gain momentum, and that it will increasingly and more explicitly be associated with a policy of permanent education. It is hard to imagine a government preparing a new foundation - not amending - for an educational statute without these features.

Q. *The right of adults to education*

It also seems likely that there will be a movement towards the establishment of a legal right to education, although the financial implications of such a right will vary a good deal. Probably in the first instance it will, at least in practice, discriminate in favour of certain types of course associated with training or re-training, or having a bearing on productivity, and it may well take the form of a right to paid leave. It will, however, even in these restricted forms mark the acceptance of a principle which can be applied more widely with the passage of time. In the interim there will undoubtedly be some fringe benefits to other sectors of adult education, among them being a much wider range of career opportunities for those who enter adult education as a full-time profession, and an increase in their number. It will be for this enlarged profession to discover and express the intimate connection between the " vocational " and " non-vocational " aspects of education which makes a right to one, to the exclusion of the other, unsatisfactory and ineffective. The growth of education for adults will also increase the attention that research gives to its problems.

R. *Professionalisation*

These tendencies are bound to accentuate and accelerate the professionalisation of adult education among full-time workers, and bring about an increase in the number of training schemes and institutions. It seems probable that some clear sub-divisions of andragogical training will emerge. Certainly, the highly technical business of participation in the teaching work of combined systems is likely to create its own forms of training. It may well be that programmes for industrial recyclage will show a tendency to do the same. At the same time, to judge from present trends and proposals, it is by no means visionary to expect that in some countries there will emerge a profession of general adult educationist to fill posts which will provide a network coverage of the country on a population basis, and whose function will be, not so much to teach, as to ensure that a right to education is exercised, or at least, that people avail themselves of opportunities. Such general workers would have to know the full range of existing facilities, locally and nationally, including those provided by multi-media systems. It would be their duty to tailor an individual response to an individual demand. It is likely that, in addition, they would have the management of a central set of premises specially for adult education, and would have pastoral duties over a considerable area, including the supervision of part-time teachers.

S. *Part-time teacher training*

Naturally the gulf between the professional full-timer and the part-time teacher will widen. The number of the latter will increase proportionately. Nevertheless, there will probably be a stipulation that all those who teach adults shall have had some form of special training, in addition to their subject qualifications, for that work; or, at least, there will be salary differentials which provide a strong incentive to take training. The question arises as to how to make the most effective use of the short training sessions which part-time tutors will have. It would seem that little is to be gained by attempting to provide watered-down versions of the studies in depth of andragogical principles which form a large part of the training of full-time teachers. As Mr. Scheffknecht's interim study has indicated, a great deal in training must involve the formation of suitable attitudes by a process of self discovery, and it is important that the training schemes for part-time teachers should involve opportunity for unstructured group discussion. It is also clear from the experience of those in all our countries who visit or inspect the work of courses that many part-time teachers need a guide to class-room procedure expressed in a simple form which will help them to make the most, educationally, of the situation brought about by people's wish to learn a subject or skill; to ensure that each student develops in class as a person, not only in subject knowledge but also in social relationship and in general educational progress. Many part-time teachers are highly qualified or skilled historians or wood-workers or trade union lawyers or dressmakers, but it is still all too possible that they could be helped by a simple catechism of questions such as the following:

" Do you know the name and something of the personal background of each student in your class? Do you make enough use of this knowledge to make the students feel wanted and at home in the class?

" Have you done all that you can to foster the emergence of group-life - to start with by ensuring that the students know each other by name, and by a tactful bringing out of individuals into the class proceedings - of the kind employed by a good host?

" Are some of your students showing signs of being neglected by you - intermittent attendance, bewilderment or hold-up in their work?

" Do you take every opportunity of stimulating discussion and letting the students learn from each other, or explore the general relevance of the subject?

" Are you vigilant about the physical conditions under which your class is working - lighting, heating, ventilation, seating and its arrangement?

" Do you keep some record of the progress of each individual student towards technical and intellectual independence and ensure that his work is individually progressive?

" How much of what you do in class could be had by the students equally well from a book or from a television programme? "

Most experienced supervisors and inspectors of part-time teachers have a score or more of such questions, doubtless to the irritation of teachers. There can be no doubt that a great deal would be gained if the teachers could be given the opportunity to discover and ask these questions of themselves. It remains true that, whatever theoretical knowledge is contained in the training of part-time teachers, these pragmatical considerations should also be present. They would be reinforced by on-the-job training from the pastoral visits of an area adult educationist wherever such a system was introduced.

T. *Overall prospect*

An attempt has been made to indicate the relative emphasis likely to be given in the coming years to various aspects of adult education. The more immediate prospect appears to favour some more than others. Those which are less assured of full participation in a general advance are work of the kind that assists social criticism or " action groups " and work in search of knowledge for its own sake as in some of the traditional academic disciplines: some, too, with which a number of the most distinguished adult educationists in all our countries are identified. It is also to be noted that the future role of voluntary organisations appears in some countries as somewhat less central to the provision than in the past. One must, however, take account of a longer-term outlook in which these three things occupy a much stronger place.

U. *Spiritual values*

At a recent Council of Europe meeting where cultural policies were being discussed, it was with that sense of shock which comes from recognition that something obvious has been overlooked that delegates heard one of their number, an African by birth, remind them that no mention had been made of those " spiritual " elements around which so much in our culture-patterns has formed itself, and through which so much cultural development takes place. The word " spiritual " was meant to cover those aspirations and activities of man which are based upon a faith, whether it be a religious faith or a faith of some other kind about the nature and destiny of mankind. It is no absurdity in this sense to speak of the faith of the materialist or atheist. Common manifestations of the spiritual are the search for a faith, where it is lacking; or where it exists, a search for reassurance or revision or reappraisal in the face of doubts which arise or are raised against it. A recently marked feature of adult education in Wales has been a trend in the choice of subjects of study that reflects an increasing preoccupation with spiritual matters, a trend which Welsh adult educationists have called " quest ". It is tempting to think that this phenomenon is a sign that an older civilisation has already seen through the search for material and social satisfactions with which the Anglo-Saxon is still largely concerned. Equally possible, however, is the explanation that this most beautiful Principality is now increasingly populated by Anglo-Saxons of high education who have withdrawn from social and vocational competition to a more reflective way of life. Be this as it may, " quest " is symptomatic of a perennially recurring need which has reasserted itself in all ages, and to which, as time goes on, adult education will be called upon to make a response everywhere. Indeed adult education can bring it about, for wherever the education of adults is not directly concerned with the solution of an immediate problem or with productivity or examinations it is bound to raise questions about values that must rest ultimately on faith.

Nor is concern in adult education for this quest a form of monastic seclusion from the issues of the world of work and politics. This is no place to discuss differing concepts of man's role in the universe, whether as a child of God, or as a " passion inutile ", or a " function of matter ", or a Nietzschean " bridge, not a terminus ", or as an illusorily and painfully individuated part of some Brahminical cosmos. For a workaday study on adult education to enter into such debates would amount to less than the intervention of a moth in a cyclone. It is sufficient to note that on such faiths depend the answers that are given in real fact and practice to social questions that affect us all.

These are questions which are coming to include issues of tremendous and sometimes ominous portent. Scientific knowledge has vastly increased the power of humanity to control its own destiny in some respects that involve terrifying moral decisions. For example - not as a futuristic vision but as something which already confronts members of the medical profession - today's populations could be brought to an optimum of health and efficiency not only by birth-control, but also by death-control, and the time may not be far off when the adoption or rejection of such a policy becomes a major social issue. It is in the light of their fundamental faith that people will make their decision.

All of which underlines the importance of the persistence of voluntary associations in the provision of adult education. It is vital that there should be opportunities for groups of people to engage in a quest for faith, or the refinement, reaffirmation and application of it. It is essential that they should have the educational guidance and help of people who are independent of government, and free to question the methods or objectives of any policy or the value of any institution. New voluntary organisations must and will arise for this purpose, alongside those already in existence. It is not to be overlooked that the latter include, as might be expected, a number of individual churches of all denominations, which may be exemplified by the work of the *Mozeshuis* in Amsterdam where, among other activities such as courses for " action groups ", clergy and laity engage in a reappraisal of their doctrine and a study of its applicability to the issues and dilemmas of personal and public life.

V. *General*

It may be that some of the opinions expressed in the foregoing observations seem to bring only cold comfort to many who have the interests of adult education at heart. Certainly this has not been the writer's intention, nor should there be any reason for despondency. The prospect is good for all save those who are so imbued with an almost tribal loyalty to a particular technique or institution or organisation that they will see merits in nothing else; or those who hope for some monolithic system providing an adult education limited to the kinds of work which they value. For all others, who are concerned not so much with an entity called " adult education " as with the diffusion of educational opportunity and incentive among adults, there is every reason to look forward with a good heart. More and more people will be brought to want education in adult life; more and more resources will be made available for them to have that education.

POST SCRIPTUM

Since the completion of this study the author has had the opportunity of conversation with some distinguished professional students of the present industrial and financial scene in this and other countries, and has noted a new trend in their expectations. In their view, there will be a much sharper definition in most countries of issues implicit, but masked by a certain optimism, in such documents as the Report on Manpower Policy in the United Kingdom (OECD) mentioned on p. 55 of our study, and the Report of the OECD Conference on Policies for Educational Growth referred to on pp. 206 and 209 above.

A statement of these views amounts to this : that maximum growth in productivity is not reconcilable with a policy of full employment in the productive industries as they exist today. They contain a substantial amount of concealed unemployment or under-employment, whether for humanitarian or political reasons. This is not merely inconsistent with maximum efficiency in the industry but is contra-productive. If the standard of living is to continue to rise — and none of our societies is likely to take a democratic decision against this expectation — then a substantial " shake-out " of redundant workers is bound to occur at all levels. The present level of demand for workers in the service and entertainment industries will for some years be insufficient to absorb those displaced. Thus our societies must accept, for a considerable period, a much higher level of unemployment than in recent decades. There is, however, no reason why the unemployed should be excluded from benefiting fully in rising productivity. The larger cake can give them goodly slices in the form of social security payments. Any difficulties they have will be unreal, psychological and caused by an obselete attitude which equates unemployment with poverty or low social or moral status. They must be helped to reorientate their ideas, and to realise that unemployment, on adequate pay, is leisure. Meanwhile, it must be a matter of policy greatly to stimulate growth in the service and recreation industries and all forms of paid work which improve the quality of life. On these, the " unemployed ", with their adequate social security payments, will make increasing demands. As these industries expand they will come to absorb many of the unemployed, on a full or part-time basis, in forms of paid work which will be undertaken as much for interest as from financial incentive, and which will re-integrate work and leisure.

The preceding paragraph gives a crude and compressed account of a forecast which can be more convincingly put by those familiar with the terminology of contemporary economics and finance. To the present writer, who has no expertise in these matters, it commends itself as something to be taken seriously because it seems to correspond with some uneasy manifestations in more than one European economy. If the diagnosis and forecast are correct, our peoples will be faced with one more of those momentous decisions to which we made reference in our conclusions, speaking of spiritual values, and which recall the prophet Joel's words about " multitudes, multitudes, in the valley of decision ".

If developments are, in fact, to be along the lines forecast, then a vast series of tasks will confront those concerned with the education of adults. They will be far more radical and wide-ranging than mere re-training for new jobs, though this will be included. What will be needed is a massive re-education in values, in attitudes, in ethical judgments about life: a crash programme for awakening millions of people from that hypnotised adoration of work - of employment - which has persisted for over a century, and to which we have already referred. Adult education will have to look to some less familiar masters, and perhaps seek guidance from new creative genius. As long ago as 1914, Ortega y Gasset in *Meditaciones del Quijote* spoke of the need for a " Newton of *Leisure* ", if one may so translate *placer*.[1] Perhaps it is to someone of this calibre that we must look, someone with the gifts which were shown in the creation of Versailles by Louis XIV, or by the founders of certain monastic orders in making a way of life which is not calendrically articulated around a spine of paid work. Example may perhaps be found also in the patterns of daily life elaborated by former leisured classes: the changing of dress for different phases of the day, the *de rigueur* occupations, the hunting and ritualised love-making. No doubt, however, contemporary demotic styles will manifest themselves, and even now there are not lacking some forerunner heroes of a way of life which rejects the work ethic. At least in the Anglo-Saxon world the former Beatle, John Lennon, and his wife are admired as such by a circle of devotees, and have become, so to speak, Stakhanovites of leisure.

It will be for adult education to feel its way forward - always assuming that our societies decide for the policies outlined. If they do one can foresee that much in adult education will be a critical appraisal

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1. " Todas neustras potencias de seriedad las hemos gastado en la administracion de la sociedad, en las luchas sociales, en la ciencia que enriquece la vida colectiva. Nos hubiera parecido frivolo dedicar una parte de neustras mejores energias - y no solamente los residuos - a organizar en tomo nuestro la amistad, a ver en el goce de las cosas una dimension de la vida que merece ser cultivada... A su tiempo nacera un Newton del placer. "

of them. In so far as it co-operates it will face an educational task of extreme difficulty - a massive rehabilitation, re-education and re-orientation. The more thoughtful workers can verbalise the traditional views of the working class about the " dignity of labour " and can refer to Marx who held that, " Work is the essential vocation of man. Its aim is the objectivation of the generic life of man. " Indeed, the ideal of the " man of leisure ", tenable in Renaissance and Enlightenment times, has been generally obscured, and he has come to be denigrated as " the idle rich ", the drone and the playboy. Moreover, governmental guidance may well be unclear and surrounded by equivocal and ambivalent verbiage. Many politicians, on the right and on the left, are highly committed to the work ethic, and have achieved their eminence in connection with the productive use of capital or labour, or the law which lies at the service of both.

Rightly or wrongly, the author has judged that there is sufficient weight in all these considerations for them to be added as a postscript. If he is right, they underline points which have been made in the text. Firstly, the need for adult education to be concerned with the tremendous social decisions which must face European peoples: in this case whether or not to envisage a society which may shape itself round a division between " the leisured " and a smaller and perhaps élite class of productive workers. Secondly, the emergence of a responsible body of thought which would question the emphasis, in adult education, on productivity and careers, to the detriment of other sectors of education for adults. And lastly, that with the emergence of educational needs and tasks of such gravity and dimension, it is the education of adults rather than the interests of any institutions or organisations dedicated to " adult education " that should concern us.

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